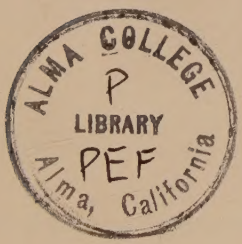
PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY

Embodying the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the *Bulletin* of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem

1940



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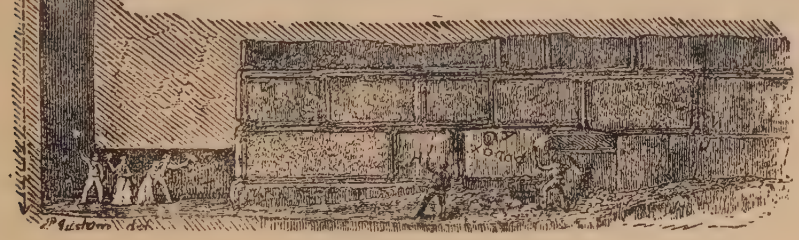

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THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

We have now been three months at war. Very few people can have had time or opportunity, still less inclination, to turn their minds to such apparently irrelevant matters as the archaeology of Palestine. But it is not good to keep the bow always at full stretch. The nights are long, and while we are enveloped by this strange Egyptian darkness which is apt to lie heavily on the spirit, it may be a relief to turn to the ancient things, where those who will may find parallels both to the depths of inhuman and callous barbarity now displayed in modern warfare, and to the endurance and heroism of which the human spirit is capable, then as now. Rabshakeh's arrogant address to the Jews who lined their city wall in 701 B.C., finds a curious echo in the tone and temper of some modern speeches which have assailed our ears of late. The Assyrians seem to have known a good deal about the " frightfulness " which some may be inclined to regard as a modern invention. There is,more over, comfort in the long view which such a retrospect gives us. Righteousness, mercy, truth, and love, the divine elements in human life, lie deeper than the sudden furies of hate and oppression and injustice. They are slower to move, and ever and again seem to be defeated and overwhelmed by the forces of evil. But in the end they have triumphed. The time has always come when those who have been through the time of terror have experienced the meaning of the prophet's words : " Thine heart shall muse on the terror ; where is he that counted, where is he that weighed the tribute, where is he that counted the towers ? " " The multitude of the nations that fight against Ariel . . . shall be as a dream, a vision of the night."

The time will come when this evil dream will be over, and when the excavator's spade will no longer be employed in

digging air-raid shelters and gun-emplacements, but may return to the kindly peaceable pursuit of digging up the past, and helping to teach us its lessons.

The study of the vast quantity of cuneiform tablets discovered by M. Parrot on the site of the ancient Mari is beginning to yield important results. Up to the present time no fewer than 20,000 tablets have been discovered in various rooms of the royal palace at Mari. The two principal categories of texts are, (a) letters, and (b) economic texts. Reference has already been made to interesting historical data gathered from the preliminary study of the letters. In the current issue of *Syria*, M. Dossin, who is engaged in the decipherment of the Mari tablets, gives a brief account of the significance of the contents of the second category of texts. One of the most important details is the publication of a list of petty kings of N.W. Syria and Mesopotamia, with the cities over which they reigned. This list is derived from tablets recording the exchange of presents between the kings of Mari and the kings mentioned in the list. It appears from this evidence that the political orientation of Mari was toward Syria and northern Palestine, rather than towards Mesopotamia. A further discovery of importance was that of six Hurrian tablets, not only furnishing evidence for the use of the Hurrian speech at Mari, but also constituting the earliest documents in that speech so far discovered, since they are 500 years earlier than the Hurrian material from Boghazköi or Ras Shamra. Much light is thrown by these economic tablets on the resources, trade and industries of Mari, and as the process of decipherment goes on, we may expect a great widening of our knowledge of what has hitherto been a very obscure period in the history of the ancient Near East.

We are indebted to the Oriental Institute of Chicago for many valuable publications. A particularly useful series is their *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*, and one of the latest additions to the series is Dr. Engberg's monograph entitled *The Hyksos Reconsidered*. The problem of the Hyksos, like "the still-vexed Bermoothes," continues to be a controversial subject among archaeologists ; but much fresh light has accrued

from various sources in recent years, and Dr. Engberg approaches the problem from the point of view of the new information furnished by Palestinian and Syrian archaeology. His monograph owes something to Professor Albright's work on Hyksos pottery in Palestine, and to Professor Speiser's studies in the ethnic elements of the ancient Near East, but his conclusions are the results of his own archaeological experience and his own interpretation of the facts. Among the important conclusions arrived at are the view that the presence of Hyksos elements in the culture of Canaan can be traced back to the beginning of the second millennium B.C.; that there is strong evidence of a cultural interrelation between the Hyksos and the Hurrians; and that the Hittites and the Habiri must be taken into account in any attempt to estimate the ethnic composition of the Hyksos. It may be added that Dr. Engberg's view with regard to the early connection between the Hyksos and the Hurrians is reinforced by the recent discoveries at Mari, which take the evidence for the existence of Hurrian language and culture back to a period five hundred years earlier than the previously existing evidence. The intimate connection between this intricate problem and the equally intriguing problem of Hebrew origins is obvious, and makes Dr. Engberg's monograph of great interest and value to students of the Old Testament.

A new text from Ras Shamra has been published by that indefatigable scholar Professor Virolleaud. Part of this very difficult and imperfectly preserved text has already been published in *Syria*, but it is now published entire in the light of further knowledge of the Ras Shamra texts gained in the course of the last five years. As its title *La Déesse Anat* indicates, the goddess Anat plays the leading role in it, and we gain much light on the nature and activities of this Canaanite goddess whom the Egyptians adopted into their pantheon as a war-goddess. The text provides one more element in the gradually emerging pattern of early Canaanite mythology. A number of interesting features appear in the new text, though there is so much uncertainty regarding the meaning of the text that the following remarks, which rest on M. Virolleaud's interpretation, can only be regarded as provisionally accurate.

A fairly certain feature is a vivid description of the massacre by the goddess Anat of the peoples of the West, where the goddess is seen wading knee-deep in blood, and washing her hands in the blood of the slain. The scene offers a striking parallel to the Egyptian myth of the slaying of mankind by the goddess Hathor, and seems to be one of the various forms in which the myth of the destruction of mankind appears in the ancient Near East. Another interesting point is the occurrence of fresh instances of the existence in the Ras Shamra pantheon of a god, the son of the high god El, who bears the significant name of *Yw*, or *Yo*, raising anew the question of the existence of a pre-Mosaic form of the name Jahweh.

In the brief time which has passed since the discovery of the alphabetic cuneiform material at Ras Shamra the literature relative to it has increased so rapidly that it now occupies fifty pages of the recently published volume *Ugaritica*.

ARRANGEMENTS DURING THE WAR. Subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund and to the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, and all correspondents are reminded that, until further notice, correspondence should be addressed to *Branksome, Keswick Road, Fetcham, Leatherhead, Surrey*.

The library of the Fund at 2 Hinde Street, London, W.1, is open on Tuesdays and Fridays from 11.30 a.m. to 2.30 p.m. for the purposes of study and research, and for the issue of books to members.

PALESTINE: DEPARTMENT OF LANDS AND SURVEYS

Annual Report for 1938

Mr. F. I. Salmon, Commissioner for Lands and Surveys, retired from the service in July, 1938. "During his tenure of office, topographical sheets of the 1 : 100,000 series were produced for the whole of Palestine, with the exception of the desert area East and South of Beersheba, for which much of the detail was prepared to enable the early production of maps." All geographers realize the debt that they owe to the department, under Mr. Salmon's guidance, for the publication of this admirable series.

The annual report is mainly taken up with accounts of the activities of the work of land settlement, which was naturally hindered by the disturbed state of the country during the year under review. But, nevertheless, the work went on, and the report gives a good idea of the many-sided occupations of the department in this sphere of its duties. We may hope that its beneficent activities will be no longer impeded, now that there is renewed hope of an understanding being come to between the two races concerned.

As to surveys in the field, during the early part of 1938 armed gangs burnt several survey camps, and this state of things necessitated the withdrawal of the parties to the large towns. One officer and two labourers were killed, and three officers and two labourers were wounded in these attacks. The major triangulation was extended southward towards the Sinai Frontier, with a view to linking up the Egyptian and Palestine systems. Eight major trigonometrical points were occupied. A party of four surveyors, under a British officer, completed their topographical programme in the Beersheba Sub-District at the beginning of April, 1938. "The officer in charge and one surveyor spent fifty-six days in the very broken country south-west of the Dead Sea and in the Ghor, providing ground control for 250 air-photographs

covering an area of 900 square kilometres (about 350 square miles). Six camels and a number of donkeys were used for transport, and it was found possible to carry on this type of work in all weather " The necessary trigonometrical control was provided by an advance party.

An interesting technical matter is reported with regard to the levelling. Levelling " towards Beisan " established a connection with the Syrian system, and it was found that there was only a difference of 8.1 millimetres (less than one-third of an inch), at the common point, although the two systems are based on separate determinations of mean sea-level, the Palestinian at Haifa, and the Syrian at Beyrouth, places which are about eighty-four miles apart.

C. F. A-C.

THE MEN OF LACHISH*

By Sir Arthur Keith

This is the first complete account of the racial characters of a people living in Palestine during biblical times. The only exception that can be made to such a statement are the records concerning the inhabitants of Gezer, published by Dr. R. A. S. Macalister (*Excavations at Gezer*, 1912). The memoir on the people of Lachish is worthy of note for many reasons—but especially because of the chief conclusion reached by its author, Mr. Risdon—namely that the inhabitants of Lachish were Egyptians. The people of Lachish have the racial characters of the inhabitants of Lower Egypt, but in Mr. Risdon's opinion they came as colonists to Lachish from Upper Egypt. Those interested in the peoples of ancient Palestine will be curious to discover how such a conclusion has been reached.

In his excavations at Lachish the late Mr. J. L. Starkey (between 1933–6) uncovered four subterranean tombs. Three of these (Nos. 120, 107, 108) had open roofs through which things could have entered ; the fourth tomb (No. 116) had no such opening and contained " normal burials comparatively undisturbed." The largest of the three open-roofed tombs (No. 120) represented a large chamber and was filled to a depth of nearly three and a half feet with human bones jumbled together. Mr. Starkey noted that skulls were especially numerous along the walls of the tomb and inferred that the human and animal bones had been thrown in through the roof, the skulls rolling towards the periphery of the accumulating heap and thus reaching the outskirts of the chamber. Altogether 1,500 people were represented in tomb No. 120—men, women, children. The bones were in no sort of order ; elements of the bodily skeleton were sparsely represented. Mr. Starkey regarded these open-roofed chambers

* A study of the cranial and other human remains from Palestine, excavated at Tell Duweir (Lachish) by the Wellcome-Marston Archaeological Research Expedition ; by D. L. Risdon, Crewdson Benington Student. Reprinted from *Biometrika* 1939, vol. xxxi, p. 99.

as ossuaries. To make room for their dead, citizens of Lachish had to clear out ancestral remains from their family tombs and one may suppose found these open-roofed chambers convenient receptacles.

Mr. Risdon supposes that the remains in these open-roofed tombs represent the result of " some catastrophe such as pestilence or earthquake (which) overtook the population of Lachish about the year 700 B.C." To pack 1,500 individuals —men, women and children into a chamber with the dimensions of tomb No. 120, would, to my anatomical eyes, be an impossible proceeding. Nor do the reasons given for supposing that the bones were entombed while in the flesh, have any weight with me.

However these bones came into the tombs there can be no doubt they represent inhabitants of Lachish ; archaeological evidence attributes them to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.—somewhere between the time of the murder of Amaziah, King of Judah, in Lachish and the transportation of the Israelites to Assyria. Before we proceed to note Mr. Risdon's investigations—which were carried out in the Galton Laboratory, University College, London, under Dr. G. M. Morant, with the help of a grant from the trustees of the late Sir Henry Wellcome—it is important to note the position of Lachish and its relation to neighbouring lands and places. Lachish is on the outskirts of the home of the Philistines ; it is situated between plain and hill, some thirteen miles from the coast and fifteen miles from Gaza. One might well suspect that its inhabitants represent the people of the adjacent Philistinian coast. Yet when the township was captured by Joshua and its inhabitants put to the sword, it was the King of Gezer, not of Gaza, that came to help the Lachishians. Gezer is situated about the same distance from the coast as Lachish, but twenty-five miles to the north. Gezer lay on the margin of coastal territory attributed to Hivites, but one may suspect, from the fact that Gezer came to the rescue of Lachish, that the peoples were allied.

In the Galton Laboratory Mr. Risdon was able to disentangle, repair and examine the cranial remains of 695 Lachishians—men, women and children. Of the men's skulls 108 were sufficiently complete to be drawn and composite

drawings made of the entire group ; similar drawings were made of eighty-nine female skulls. No biometrician has ever before had such a wealth of material from Palestine to work up ; hitherto Egypt only has provided them with such opportunities. It was natural, then, that Mr. Risdon having made his measurements, and compiled his valuable statistical tables in the way adopted by disciples of Karl Pearson, should turn to compare his results with those obtained from series of skulls excavated in ancient Egypt. The Lachishians presented an array of cranial characters surprisingly similar to those of the ancient Egyptians—particularly to those of lower Egypt. It will be remembered that the late Sir Grafton Elliot Smith found that, in early dynastic times, a new type of man began to appear in Lower Egypt—replacing the predynastic type. The type which was new in Lower Egypt Sir Grafton believed to have come from Asia. Mr. Risdon does not touch on this matter, contenting himself with the recognition of a Lower Egyptian type and an Upper Egyptian type. After the time of the Hyksos (XVIIth dynasty) the Lower Egyptian type appeared in upper Egypt. Our author is evidently in two minds as to the cause of the cranial change in Upper Egypt for in one passage he speaks of " a clear suggestion that the type was changing gradually with time " and in another " this (change) may be supposed due to a gradual infiltration of Lower Egyptians into Upper Egypt."

Now we pass to his final conclusions. " All its (Lachish series) closest connections are with series of the Lower Egyptian type, and these are close enough to suggest that the population of the Palestinian town was entirely, or almost completely, of Egyptian origin. . . . These relationships suggest that the Lachish population represents descendants of a colonizing group of men and women, which was derived primarily from Upper Egypt, at some time later than the XVIIIth dynasty and which maintained its type unchanged —free from intermixture—until 700 B.C. or later."

I have a difficulty in understanding why Mr. Risdon goes to Upper Egypt for the Lachishian type when he has it close at hand in Lower Egypt. And why go to Egypt at all ? For at least three millennia before these people died in Lachish the Mediterranean type of man had been effecting settle-

ments on all shores of the Mediterranean coasts of Europe and Africa, including the Delta of the Nile and the shores of the Levant. We can best explain the change in the population of Lower Egypt between predynastic and dynastic times, by ascribing it to the infiltration of the Mediterranean type—into the older predynastic population. The Palestinian coast and the Delta had the same Mediterranean type as their inhabitants. It is in this way I would explain the cranial resemblances between the Lachishians and Lower Egyptians, and the migrant inhabitants of Upper Egypt. It will be noted that I am regarding the Philistines—and Lachishians—as members of the Mediterranean family of peoples.

For a long time I have taken a personal interest in the racial relationships of the peoples of Palestine and of Egypt. Nine years ago when my health broke down the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons sent me to Egypt. I am of opinion that the unaided eye is the best and surest of all instruments for making a racial diagnosis—especially of living human beings. We are all, in this sense, more or less expert anthropologists. When I took up my abode in Aswan I made notes on the Berberines and other natives of Upper Egypt; later I moved about amongst the peoples in and around Luxor, afterwards making my way to Cairo—noting the people as I went. Then I crossed into Palestine and made a circuit of that land. I will quote from the notes I wrote as I left Palestine, because they bear on the modern populations of the Delta and of the neighbouring part of Palestine.

"The Suez Canal and Red Sea represent the dividing line between people of the African type and of the European (Caucasian) type. The day I left Cairo (9th March, 1930) Egyptian troops were deployed along the streets (I was told they were Lower Egyptians) to receive the Queen of Belgium. I had an excellent opportunity of observing Egyptian "Tommies" in a uniform not unlike that of their British brothers. I think there were 10 per cent. of them which, were they mixed with British soldiers, would have been picked out from British ranks with great difficulty owing to the ruddiness of their colouring and the European aspect of their features. At least 90 per cent. were most decidedly not European; they could be detected in, and separated from, any European regiment

by reason of colouring and of features. Very few were tall (over 5 ft. 9 in.).

"Then I had in Palestine an opportunity of seeing uniformed police recruited from natives of Palestine. Were these men to be mixed in a European Regiment—Italian, French or Spanish—the number which might pass as European soldiers would be—not 10 per cent. as in Egypt, but certainly 60 per cent. In a British regiment, the number that would be inseparable would be less—perhaps 50 per cent. There is only 10 per cent. Europeanoids in Egypt; there is 50 to 60 per cent. of them in Palestine.

"Were one to take Egyptian and Palestinian women, separation would be less decided; 10 per cent. of Egyptian women (I speak of the general population), dressed as Parisians, might pass as Europeans; the number of Palestinian women which could so pass is much higher—perhaps 40 or 50 per cent. As one goes towards Syria the proportion of Europeanoids—both men and women—continues to rise.

"The Hamitic type prevails in Africa; the Semitic type in Asia is Caucasian or Europeanoid. But in Egypt and in South Palestine, I did observe amongst both men and women individuals who represented a type which was of smaller build, with less decided features, and of darker—almost black—complexion; and this type is narrow headed. If the Egyptian and Palestinian representatives of this type were to be dressed alike and to speak alike, it would be impossible to discriminate between them. This transition Arab-Egyptian type forms 20 or 30 per cent. amongst Delta Egyptians and about the same proportion amongst South Palestinians."

Does this dark complexioned, narrow headed type, which I recognized amongst the Delta and South Palestinian peoples represent a remnant of the Philistines—and the people who inhabited Lachish? I think it highly probable that it does. Mr. Risdon found that the Lachishians were narrow headed; in the mean the width of their skulls was 74.3 per cent. of the length in the men and 75.5 per cent. in the women. They were also a people of less than medium stature. Dr. Macalister observed that the inhabitants of Gezer (in the Semitic period) had slightly wider skulls—their mean skull width being 76 per cent. of the length. Mr. Risdon also quotes measurements

which Dr. Weissenberg made on two groups of living fellahin—one group near Jaffa, the other from North Galilee, near Safed. If we make a deduction for flesh the mean width of their skulls was practically the same as for the men of Lachish—namely 74.2 per cent. Mr. Risdon recognizes that the conclusions he has drawn of the racial nature of the Lachishians must be regarded as provisional. They remain so until we know more of the inhabitants of Ancient Palestine.

The biometrical instrument which Mr. Risdon has applied to the elucidation of the racial relationships of ancient peoples has great merits but it also has great limitations. It is really of the nature of a mincing machine, such as is used by sausage makers. When a population is passed through the biometrical mill is emerges as a form of statistical mincemeat. The biometrician can give you the mean quality of his sausages with precision and the degree which this mean varies in passing from sample to sample but he cannot tell you what separable qualities and elements he has passed through his machine. For instance, the various elements which I and others can distinguish in the Egyptian and Palestinian populations would not be recognizable in his finished product. Dr. Macalister kept these elements in evidence by the use of curves of distribution. Mr. Risdon apparently does not believe in curves of distribution—judging from his reference to Dr. Macalister's paper. We should now know much more of the population of Lachish if he had followed Dr. Macalister's example.

In the recognition of race, variety or species, naturalists depend—not so much on measurements—as on certain distinctive marks or characters. Mr. Risdon notes among the Lachish people two characters which are non-Egyptian—namely narrowness and prominence of the bridge of the nose and the curvature of the cheek-bones. From these characters alone I should have suspected that the Lachish people were racially different from Egyptians.

My criticism of Mr. Risdon's conclusions must not lead to the belief that I do not value the immense and precise labour he has expended on the ancient Lachishians. He has indeed made a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the peoples of the Near East.

HAURAN : RISE AND DECLINE

By Eliahu Epstein

The visitor to Hauran finds on all sides numerous remains of ancient civilizations, ranging from dolmens—the handiwork of primitive man—to the magnificent buildings and sculptures of the Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Sassanid craftsmen. These ruins testify to the antiquity of man's habitation in this territory east of the Jordan—the Bashan of the Bible.[1] They reflect the ebb and flow of victory and defeat in the eternal struggle of man against nature, and of man against man. History lies written in the stones of the ruins scattered on Hauran's hillsides and valleys and visible to all passers-by. But apart from these surface remains, who can tell what a wealth of historical material lies hidden beneath the soil of Hauran, one of the least explored districts of Syria. The spade of the excavator has hardly touched Hauran which is still a virgin field for the archaeologist.

" The history of Hauran is the history of human civilization," wrote Professor Henrik Scharling, the nineteenth century Danish traveller and explorer. He described Hauran with its ruined temples, gateways and pillars as a second Pompeii, " a Pompeii not below but above the ground." The difference between the two was that " the treasures of Pompeii were

[1] Hauran constitutes to-day a separate province (" Liwa ") of the Syrian Republic. The post-war administrative unit bearing that name, extends over an area of some 400,000 hectares and includes not only Hauran proper but also Jaulan and Bashan. The province of Hauran stretches from the Damascus plain southwards to the Yarmuk gorge to the Ajlun. The western boundary runs from the base of the Hermon southwards to the Huleh marshes ; thence along the Jordan and the lake of Tiberias to the mouth of the Yarmuk. The eastern boundary is Jebel ed Druze. Hauran's population is estimated at 100,000. Der'a is the administrative centre of the province. The political boundaries with Palestine and Transjordan were fixed by the Treaties of Paris (1920 and 1931) and of Jerusalem (1926). Geographically and historically Hauran may be described as the northern continuation of Transjordan. (V. *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, October, 1936 : " Hauran," by Eliahu Epstein.)

obliterated by the eruption of a volcano while the civilization of the Hauran was submerged by the invasion of the desert and of its dwellers."[1]

Professor Scharling's phrase sums up the fundamental theme of Hauran's history—the elemental conflict between the desert and the sown which runs like a scarlet thread across the story of all lands bordering on the desert. Herein is the key to an understanding of the problems which have beset Hauran from remotest times.

Desert and Civilization

Hauran's record provides perhaps the most moving illustration of the epic fight between civilization and the forces of the desert in the Middle East. The mainsprings of this age-long struggle are not to be found only in the desert dweller's lust for plunder and his religious and racial fanaticism. His encroachments on settled civilization during various periods of history in Transjordan and elsewhere were motivated by the fundamental hostility of the desert wanderers to the tillers of the soil and the settled inhabitants of cities, a feeling by no means extinct in the hearts of the Bedouin even to-day. The impact of this nomad hatred was experienced alike by the Christian villages of the Byzantine era and by the Moslem peasants of a later date whose homes were not spared by the marauding brethren.

Because of Hauran's position on the threshold of the desert and the attraction of the wealth accumulated in its cities and villages, the country never ceased to be the object of nomad raids and incursions. The desert sea overflowing from time to time its natural boundaries, submerged settled civilization, and later receded to its former territory. This pattern of ebb and flow in settled civilization was endlessly repeated. So numerous were these fluctuations that Hauran's sociological evolution seems to have followed a zigzag line and it is impossible to discern even within the framework of any one period a single general trend of development. The invasion of nomad shepherds from the deserts of Syria and Arabia resolved itself sometimes into their partial absorption into the

[1] Prof. H. Scharling, *Hauran*, Bremen 1890, p. 81.

life of the settled population ; at other periods the nomad masters retained undiluted their desert characteristics. At all times the unceasing combat of two hostile and conflicting worlds has lain at the very roots of Hauran's life—alike in the days of Og, King of Bashan, and Herod, King of Judah, under the rule of the Khalif Muawiyah and under the Egyptian Ibrahim Pasha and down to this very day. From this struggle has been woven the dramatic stuff of Hauran's history.

Ancient Highways

But the desert was not always the enemy of Hauran ; it was also during one period of its history the greatest source of its commercial prosperity. The great Syrian desert, to which Hauran is the fertile gateway, extends in a huge triangle, with its base resting on the Gulf of Aqabah on the west and the Gulf of Kuwait in the east, its apex reaching towards Aleppo in the north. This immense plain has from time immemorial served as the commercial and military highway between the settled lands of the Mediterranean seaboard and the countries of the Arabian peninsula and India. It fulfilled for the ancient world a function similar to that of the Suez Canal in our own days.

The need for routes of communication and trade became apparent from the earliest times, when the seeds of civilization first germinated in the deltas of the Euphrates, Tigris and the Nile. A network of highways was soon traced through the desert by the caravans of daring traders and the sandy wastes, formerly a dividing barrier, became a connecting link, joining the remote corners of the East with the centres of civilization and the great marts of Babylon and Egypt. A great transversal road crossed the Syrian desert from east to west, connecting the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris—the home of successive civilizations and the great storehouse of the ancient Middle East—with the cities of the Mediterranean seashore. Another highway ran from Yemen in the southern extremity of the Arabian peninsula to Egypt on the one hand, and to Mesopotamia and the Persian Gulf, the gateway to India, on the other. From the highlands of Anatolia in the north an important road led southwards to Egypt, passing through the cities of Aleppo, Hama, Homs and thence to Damascus, and through Hauran to

Lake Tiberias, and the valley of Jezreel and thence along the Mediterranean shore.

Along these desert highways extending in all directions, endless caravans of camels—" the ship of the desert "—transported the precious wares required for the welfare and comfort of the civilized peoples of the ancient world : perfumes, spices and gold of Arabia, precious wood from India, slaves from the heart of Africa, glass from Sidon, tissues from Damascus.

In the wake of this growing commercial traffic which reached its peak in the golden days of Rome, great " caravan cities " grew up and flourished along the main roads, particularly at points of strategic importance. Such were the cities of Damascus, Aleppo, Palmyra, Dura Europos, Bosra, Jerash, Petra, etc. Smaller cities and villages, situated near the trade routes, also shared in the prosperity enjoyed by the great " caravan cities " during the period of their rise—which forms one of the most brilliant pages in the history of the Middle East and of Hauran. The stream of wealth, flowing down the arteries of trade, permitted to the " caravan cities " a life of indolence and luxury ; at the same time it gave a strong stimulus to arts and crafts and especially to architecture, the flowering of which is evidenced by the impressive ruins of Petra, Jerash and Palmyra.

But along these great highways came not only trade and prosperity but also war and destruction. Throughout the ages, armies of invaders have marched along these roads, which have helped to victory Nebuchadnezzar, Darius and Alexander the Great, Hadrian and Aurelian, Khalid ibn Walid and Tamerlane.

Hauran lay at the junction of these great desert highways and its history only becomes intelligible when their function in the ancient world is properly understood. Two principal desert roads crossed Hauran : the *Via Maris* of the Romans and the *King's Highway* of the Bible. The *Via Maris* ran from Damascus through Hauran to Gilead, Moab, Edom, on to the Red Sea and thence along the Arabian Peninsula to Yemen (*Arabia Felix*). It was also the great military road of the Roman Legions and later an important highway for the pilgrim traffic to the holy cities of Mecca and Medinah. This road probably already existed in the Early Bronze Age but it came into prominence mainly with the rise of the great " caravan

cities " of the Roman period. Hauran derived particular commercial importance from its position at the cross-roads of the main trade arteries of the ancient world. This was especially the case when the capital city of Damascus, with whose commercial fortunes Hauran was always intimately associated, was at the height of its prosperity.

In later centuries the decay of ancient civilizations and the invasion of desert elements combined with the rise in the world of new forces, depending more on sea communications than on land routes, to undermine the very foundations on which the prosperity and welfare of the corridor lands of the Middle East had for so long depended.

The crisis was precipitated by the crumbling of law and order during the death agonies of the Roman and Byzantine rule. As the power of settled government declined, so pressure from the desert tribesmen increased. Their prime objective was to secure mastery of the great commercial highways crossing the desert. But when this part of the Middle East eventually came under the complete domination of the Bedouin and civilization was replaced by lawlessness, the desert highways lost their importance as channels of commerce. The great Syrian desert then reverted to its pristine state as a natural barrier to Middle East communications.

The development of shipping was another important factor in the economic disintegration of the Middle East transit countries, which was not of course consummated at one stroke, and was a long process extending over many generations and stretching even into modern history.

The discovery by Vasco da Gama, in the fifteenth century, of the sea route to India, introduced a method of transportation cheaper than that by land along the ancient desert highways. This blow to the economic life of the Middle East had serious effects on the prosperity of the ancient trade centres, such as Damascus and incidentally led to the collapse of the last settled communities in the Negeb, which had developed along the caravan routes. When, at about the same period, the Portuguese started their system of monopolies in the export of oriental spice and perfumes, this trade passed entirely out of the hands of Egyptian and Syrian merchants. Albuquerque, who founded in 1510 the port of Goa which became a great trading

centre on the Malabar Coast, practically banished Arab shipping from the waters of the Indian Ocean after his conquest of Hormuz, the key to the Persian Gulf. The consequences of the Portuguese policy were disastrous to what still remained of both land and seaborne traffic passing through the Middle East. Venetian galleys were soon leaving the Syrian and Egyptian ports with only half-cargoes and the number of caravans using the land route from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean dwindled to insignificance.[1]

The latest link in the chain of developments which led the decline of the ancient land routes of the Middle East was of course the construction of the Suez Canal in 1869.

Proverbial Fertility

But the ancient glory of Hauran, and its fame in the history of the Middle East was not derived alone from its position at the intersection of the great trade arteries of the world. It was due in no less degree to the country's proverbial fertility.

In the Bible, in the hieroglyphics of ancient Egypt and in the writings of historians, scientists, and travellers of all ages Hauran is referred to before all as a land of almost unlimited natural wealth. The rich gifts of nature which fell to its lot are vividly described in the final chapters of the Pentateuch (Deut. xxxii, 14) :

" Butter of kine, and milk of sheep, with fat of lambs, and rams of the breed of Bashan, and goats, with the fat of kidneys of wheat."

The Biblical text bears testimony to the fertility of the Hauran and the richness of its pastures which made the cattle and sheep of Bashan a byword for plenty in the utterances of poets and prophets. Flavius Josephus, writing of this country during one of its periods of prosperity, describes it in these words : " The fields here abound with crops, and in the plains flourish all sorts of fruit trees. The inhabitants of the land grow olives, grapes, dates in plenty." (*Jewish Wars*, III, 3, 3.)

The literature of other peoples and other ages provides similar examples of glowing descriptions of the land of Hauran and its fertility, the variety of its crops and the abundance of its harvests. From remotest antiquity Hauran has been famed

[1] *The Cambridge History*, Vol. I, pp. 27-32.

as the granary of the Middle East. Wheat is found even to-day growing in a wild state in the most deserted spots of Hauran plains. Studies of this unique type of wheat were made by the late Aaron Aaronson, the Palestinian scientist, and his assistant, the late M. Berman, in the course of their wanderings in Hauran before the war. It was advanced by Aaronson as proof of the contention that Palestine and Transjordan were the original homes of wheat whence its cultivation spread to the whole world.[1]

The existence of a prosperous agricultural settlement in Bashan, is revealed in the Tell el-Amarna letters (end of the fourteenth and beginning of thirteenth centuries B.C.). Further evidence is provided in a still more ancient Egyptian document dating back to the reign of Thutmosis III (sixteenth century B.C.). These two Egyptian documents form the most valuable source of our knowledge of early conditions in Palestine and Transjordan).[2]

Ebb and Flow of Settlement

The plains of Hauran were amongst the first territories east of the Jordan where nomad shepherds, emerging from the desert, first turned to the tilling of the soil, and established themselves as the nucleus of a settled community. During the same period, however, other parts of the country, such as Gilead, remained still unsettled—the preserve of wandering nomads and their flocks. Hauran became the first part of Palestine to be settled and cultivated by the desert tribesmen because of its remarkable fertility, in the same way as deltas of the Nile, Tigris and Euphrates became the first seats of settled civilization in the Middle East because of the richness of their soil. But while, in Mesopotamia and Egypt, with their incomparably vaster natural resources, mighty settled civilizations were able to rise and to maintain their positions, the smaller Hauran was like a settled island in a desert sea, ever open to invasions, and incapable of defending itself from marauding nomads. Only in the rare periods of peace were the inhabitants of Hauran free to devote themselves entirely to the cultivation

[1] Some scientists, like the Russian Prof. Vaviloff, do not agree, however, with this suggestion.

[2] Dr. B. Maisler, *History of Palestine*, 1918, Vol. I, p. 218 (Hebrew).

of their rich soil, and to enjoy fully its abundance. These happy intervals form the brightest chapter in the history of Hauran and represent the peaks of its intellectual and material development. Settled civilization in Hauran reached its highest flowering under Roman rule, and especially under the Antonines. Its later history can record but isolated instances of a temporary return to the agricultural prosperity of bygone days. One of such episodes occurred under the Ummayyad Khalifs, when the might of Damascus was sufficiently strong to enforce security and peace for a comparatively long time. While the glories of Roman days were never again reached, these revivals gave proof from time to time of the undiminished natural richness of the Hauran, awaiting only the protection of an ordered regime to yield once more of its bounty.

The noted Arab geographer Yakut (d. 1229)[1] praises highly the fertility of the Hauran, and another celebrated Arab geographer Al Muqaddasi[2] writing in 985, records that the produce of Jaulan (forming part of the Hauran of to-day) was sufficient to provide all the requirements of the capital city, Damascus. Incidentally, the writings of Al Muqaddasi refer to a period of eclipse, when the forces of the desert were already encroaching on the outlying parts of the settled areas of Syria and seriously interfering with the normal life of the cultivator.

Except for comparatively short periods Hauran, for the largest part of its history, lay in constant fear and danger of the desert. The Bedouin raiders regularly looted the villages and destroyed what they could not carry away. In times of peace they extorted from the cultivators a regular tribute—*Khawa*—for protection by one tribe against the attacks of others.

It is remarkable how closely Strabo's description of the suffering of Hauran cultivators from the ruthlessness of the nomad raiders are paralleled by accounts of travellers who visited Hauran during the nineteenth century. Thus the Roman historian's narrative of peasants seeking refuge in caves from marauding Bedouin 2,000 years ago is almost literally repeated in the reports of Wetzstein, the noted German traveller, who passed through Hauran in 1858.

But the Bedouin were not the only enemies menacing

[1] *Yakut*, Vol. II, p. 358.
[2] *Al Muqaddasi*, p. 160.

FIG. 1. BOSRA ESKI-SHAM, THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF HAURAN

FIG. 2. A VILLAGE IN HAURAN

FIG. 1. WOMEN OF THE JILLIN VILLAGE IN HAURAN

FIG. 2. THE WULD ALI BEDOUIN OF HAURAN

FIG. 3. HAURANESE PLOUGHMAN

settled civilization in the plains of Hauran. In recent times, another hostile force arose within Hauran itself, in the Druze immigrants from Lebanon on the eastern border of Hauran. The mountains to which they gave their name, Jebel ed-Druze (Mountain of the Druzes) thus became the home of a warlike and fanatical population, followers of a strange and secret religion, and constituted a new threat to the peaceful peasant of the plains.

Results of Spoliation

The greatest oppressors of the Hauran cultivator were, however, his own corrupt governors, crafty merchants and unscrupulous usurers.

None of those who were drawn to Hauran by the magnet of its natural wealth and lived on the riches of its land, gave a moment's thought to the husbanding of its natural resources, or to the well-being of its simple folk. This unthinking and ruthless spoliation forms one of the most characteristic features in the agricultural history of the Middle East, and is perhaps the root cause of its decline under Moslem rule.

From such causes sprang the tragedy of Hauran. Its natural wealth, instead of bringing happiness and prosperity to its inhabitants, has turned to dust. Thus a country, endowed by nature with every gift needed to support a numerous and thriving population, has degenerated, not through natural causes but by the wanton hand of man, into one of the most miserable areas of the Middle East, and in the course of centuries the Hauranis have become one of the most destitute and socially degraded of its peoples.

ḲENITES AND ḲENIZZITES

By Nelson Glueck

Archaeological discoveries during the last few years have shown that mining and smelting and refining operations were carried on along the length of the ʿArabah and the head of the Gulf of ʿAqabah, as well as in Sinai, at least from the beginning of the Early Iron Age, and quite probably already early in the Bronze Age.[1] During the same periods also, in all likelihood, mining operations and related activities were carried on in Midian. The Ḳenites, who were native to these mining regions, and whose very name reveals that they were smiths, were evidently among the master craftsmen who furnished the skilled labour in connection with the various mining and smelting and manufacturing operations,[2] in addition to the slave labour that must have been employed to do the dirty work.[3] The Ḳenites were the ones, in all probability, who introduced the Israelites to the arts of mining and metallurgy. It will be recalled that Moses had taken in marriage a Ḳenite wife, and that the Israelites ever afterwards maintained the closest relationship with the Ḳenites.[4] It is furthermore probable that the Ḳenites also introduced the Edomites, to whom they were connected through the Kenizzites,[5] to the arts of their trade.

As members of a guild of craftsmen skilled in metal work, the Ḳenites must have been well represented at Ezion-geber : Elath, where the American School of Oriental Research expedition discovered such a well-preserved, intricately constructed smelter and refinery.[6] To judge from the pottery

[1] *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, XV, pp. 23, 25, 34, 44, 47, 48 ; *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 71, p. 6.

[2] AASOR, XV, p. 49 ; *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XI, pp. 147–8 ; Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, ed. 3, p. 206, n. 7 ; Gen. iv, 22; xv, 19 ; 1 Sam. xv, 6 ; xxvii, 10 ; xxx, 29 ; Obadiah i, 3, 4.

[3] AASOR, XV, pp. 28, 44.

[4] Jud. i, 16 ; iv, 11 ; 1 Sam. xv, 6.

[5] Gen. xv, 19 ; xxxvi, 10, 11, 14, 15, 42 ; 1 Chron. i, 36, 53.

[6] BASOR, 71, pp. 5–6.

finds at Ezion-geber : Elath, it was during the various periods of its history also a centre for the production of pottery. This latter activity may also well have been in the hands of a separate guild. The presence of guilds is well documented in the Bible, and among them that of the potters, as is attested specifically, for instance, in 1 Chron. iv, 23. We read also of guilds of linen workers,[1] of scribes,[2] and of smiths.[3] In addition to specialized guilds, there were whole towns, even such as Ezion-geber : Elath, which seem to have been given over to one or more particular industries, in addition to the normal occupations of its inhabitants. Thus Ḳiriath-sefer concerned itself with the woollen textile industry, including the spinning, weaving, and dyeing of woollen stuffs.[4] Albright recalls that Pella and Rehob near Beth-shan were noted for the manufacture of chariots.[5]

Of particular interest to us in this connection is the statement in 1 Chron. iv, 13–14, that " the sons of Ḳenaz were Othniel and Seraiah . . . and Seraiah begot Joab, the father of the Valley of the Smiths, because they were smiths."[6] Is it too far fetched to suggest that the Ḳenizzites, who are known as *ḥarāshîm*, were copper and iron smiths in their own right ? While the word *ḥarāshîm* in 1 Chron. iv, 14, does not necessarily mean *smiths*, and may denote craftsmen skilled in other arts, the word is used predominantly in the Bible for those craftsmen who could fashion metal implements and objects. The intimate connection of the Ḳenizzites with the Ḳenites, and the fact that they too were regarded as residing in the regions in southernmost Palestine and Transjordan, of which Ezion-geber : Elath was the centre, makes it seem likely to

[1] 1 Chron iv, 21.
[2] 1 Chron. ii, 55.
[3] 1 Chron. iv, 14.
[4] Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, p. 119.
[5] Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, pp. 100, 198, n. 87.
[6] Jos. xv, 17 ; Jud. i, 13 ; 3, 9, refer to Othniel the son of Ḳenaz, the brother of Caleb, and Jud. iii, 11, mentions him as the son of Ḳenaz ; cf. 1 Chron. iv, 15. It is interesting to note in this connection, that Caleb who was of those who, at the behest of Moses in Ḳadesh Barnea, spied out the land, is referred to in several passages as a Ḳenizzite. No better scout could have been sent ahead from the south to spy out the land than a Ḳenizzite, who was already familiar with the main approaches to it from the south ; cf. Num. xxxii, 12 ; Jos. xiv, 6, 14.

us that they are referred to in 1 Chron. iv, 14, as *metal-smiths*.[1] We would suggest then, furthermore, that the *Valley of the Smiths* referred to in this verse is to be identified with the Wâdī el-'Arabah, which contains numerous ancient copper and iron mines and smelting works. The *City of Copper* referred to in 1 Chron. iv, 12, might possibly be identified with the Khirbet en-Naḥas in the Wâdī el-'Arabah, where there are great copper slag heaps, and the ruins of some small smelting furnaces.[2] The likelihood of this identification is increased if the LXX change of " men of Rechah " in this verse to " men of Rechab " is correct, because the Rechabites were related to a branch of the Ḳenites.[3]

[1] Gen. iv, 22 ; 1 Sam. xiii, 19 ; Isa. xl, 9 ; xli, 7 ; xliv, 12 ; liv, 16 ; Jer. x, 9 ; 1 Kings vii, 14.

[2] AASOR, XV, pp. 26–30.

[3] 1 Chron. ii, 55.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

A Study on the Basis of Israelite Marriage

"... but I would entreat you, as a recompense for my virginity, which I brought and do not carry away, that you would please to let me have one shift over and above my dowry."

Boccaccio, *Decameron*, v. 10.

In a sense the Old Testament can be regarded as a repository containing the records of the life and custom of the ancient Hebrews. Of immense historical value, those records reveal to us the events of the many centuries they cover, and also enable us to reconstruct the culture and civilization that were prevalent among the Israelites of those centuries.

This latter feature, however, can be achieved to a limited extent only, for not all the aspects of the life and custom of ancient Israel can be reconstructed on the evidence of the Old Testament. Some of these aspects are indeed scantily, sometimes hopelessly, illustrated in the Old Testament. It is therefore gratifying to find that, in such cases, biblical scholars do not always plead *ignorabimus*, but they investigate the sources time and again in the hope that they will succeed in wresting out some kind of results.

This notion came to our mind while reading a recently published book on the problem of marriage in ancient Israel.[1] The author, who is professor of Old Testament studies at Yale University, raises anew the question of what was the basis of the old Israelite marriage. The biblical information on the subject is extremely inadequate, a fact which renders the student's position not too enviable. Neither the Pentateuch nor any other part of the Old Testament contain anything like the marriage laws of the Code of Hammurabi or of the Assyrian collection of laws. The Hebrew term *mohar* occurs in the Old Testament three times, always in connection with marriage

[1] *The Basis of Israelite Marriage*. By Millar Burrows, Ph.D. American Oriental Series, vol. 15. American Oriental Society. New Haven, Connecticut, 1938.

or seduction. The etymology of the term, however, is still obscure, and the three instances in which it is found do not allow us to say anything definite about its significance. So scholars resorted to the study of comparative custom and attempted to glean something from the classical and Mesopotamian antiquities. The result was that about half a score of explanations have been advanced. The explanation which gained the widest currency was that the *mohar* constituted the price which a man paid to his future father-in-law for his daughter. The old Hebrew marriage then was based on the principle of purchase, the *mohar* being the money equivalent of the girl acquired for a wife. This theory of purchase-marriage, however, met with serious difficulties, one of them being that marriage is an institution older than purchase and as such could not have been based on an institution which came into existence at a much later time. Among the other explanations of the character of the *mohar* was that it was the *pretium pudicitiae*; or that it was the payment for the *ius mariti* which the husband acquired from the girl's father; or, to mention one more, that it was a kind of provision for widowhood or divorce. All these explanations, together with many others, are discussed at great length and with much skill by Prof. Burrows, and rejected on various grounds, in the chapter on " Alternative Explanations." Similarly, Prof. Burrows discusses in another two chapters all the arguments that have been advanced for or against the theory of purchase-marriage, which he also rejects for a theory of his own.

Prof. Burrows maintains that " the most satisfactory explanation of *mohar* is to be found in the essential purpose and significance of gifts among the ancient Semites." To support this statement, the author draws upon our knowledge of the social life among primitive and semi-civilized peoples. " By an extravagant display of generosity a man may seek merely to establish his superiority, but ordinarily a gift has in view some substantial return." In a similar sense the character of the *mohar* should be comprehended. " One family gives a very precious possession, a daughter; the other, ' to put things on an equal footing,' gives a valuable present." Thus the *mohar* becomes a compensation gift which " establishes the prestige of the husband and his family, gives him authority

over his wife, makes the contract binding on both parties, and creates an alliance between the two families."

With this significance of the *mohar* in mind, Prof. Burrows goes on to investigate the problem of marriage in other countries of the ancient East, and applies the meaning of compensation gift also to the Akkadian *terḫatu*, which in the Assyro-Babylonian sources takes the place of the *mohar* in the Old Testament. Both *terḫatu* and *mohar* started out, with the beginning of the marriage institution, as a compensation, and not as a purchase-price, for a gift which was received in the form of the desired girl. Later, with the evolution of economic institutions such as barter and sale, "not unnaturally the bridegroom's gift to the father of the bride would be affected in practice and interpretation." But it never became the same thing as the purchase-price, nor did marriage ever become an act of purchase, "as is evident from the fact that the woman remained free and independent," in distinction from the female slave who was acquired by way of purchase.

Owing to the lack of space we cannot enter here into a detailed discussion of Prof. Burrows' theory. We can only say the following. If, in the light of the evidence at our disposal, this theory be weighed against those which have been advanced by other scholars, it will no doubt appear to be the most plausible. It conforms with the requirements of an hypothesis more than any of the other theories does, that is to say, it explains more phenomena bound up with the *terḫatu* and *mohar* than does any of the other theories. But it does not explain all of them. Nor does it seem to be entirely acceptable. According to this theory, the value of a woman in a primitive community was, to all intents and purposes, of an economic and social character. The woman could perform certain kinds of work. Again, as a potential mother, the woman could increase the fighting strength of her tribe. The handing over of a woman to another group, then, would mean a loss to her own group, a loss which was to be compensated by the bridegroom's gift of the *mohar*. Consequently, the *mohar* had nothing to do with the fact that the girl was still a virgin, and, apparently, would have to be paid, as the *mahr* still is among the *fellahin* in present-day Palestine, even if she were, say, a widow. This conclusion, however, is not borne out by the impression

one gains from the cuneiform or biblical sources. Those sources, particularly the latter ones—Gen. xxxiv, 12 ; Ex. xxii, 15f ; 1 Sam. xviii, 25—strongly suggest that both the *terḫatu* and the *mohar* stood in some relation to the virgin state of the woman. That the *mahr* is now, among the *fellahin*, being paid even for a widow is no proof that it also was four or three thousand years ago, while there is reason to believe that it was not.

The connection between the *mohar* and the *virginitas* suggests that there was some kind of superstitious belief attached to the latter. Cohabitation with a virgin must have been regarded as an act of encroachment which could be recompensed by the payment of a *mohar*. The *virginitas*, shall we say, had to be " redeemed " before it was made accessible to the husband. A similar superstitious belief may also be reflected in the necessity to redeem " the first-born, whatsoever openeth the womb . . . both of man and of beast." Another instance of the same belief may perhaps be seen in the privileged status of the first-born son who " is the first-fruits of his (the man's) strength."

The point raised in the preceding paragraph claims to be no more than an outline of a suggestion. It requires working out before it can be advanced as an explanation of the *mohar*. Until this is done, however, the theory of compensation gift may be said to indicate the most likely significance of the term.

One more word in conclusion. The title of the book, *The Basis of Israelite Marriage*, does not do full justice to what is dealt with in its pages. It would have been truer to call it : *The Basis of Marriage in the ancient Orient*. For, in addition to the biblical sources, Prof. Burrows also examines, quite comprehensively, the cuneiform sources of Baylonia, Assyria, and Arrapkha. Prof. Burrows also draws upon the recent sources of Ras-Shamra and those of pre-Islamic Arabia. It may then have been a stroke of modesty on the part of the author in choosing the title he did, as he may not have wished to leave the borders of the field in which he is an authority. All the same, the students of Assyriology, no less than those of the Old Testament, will welcome *The Basis of Israelite Marriage* as a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the social conditions of the ancient Orient as a whole. IZAAK RAPAPORT.

Map of Southern Trans-Jordan.

By the courtesy of the Director of Lands, Trans-Jordan, we have received a copy of the Ma'an sheet of the Map of Trans-Jordan on the scale of 1 : 250,000 (about 4 miles to an inch). The sheet covers an area of 15,600 square kilometres, or nearly 6,000 square miles, and extends from the Gulf of Aqaba in the south-west to beyond the Ma'an Railway on the east ; and from the hilly region of Petra in the north of the sheet to Saudi Arabia in the south. The map is a compilation by the two departments of Lands and Surveys of Trans-Jordan and Palestine. It is printed in hypsometric colours ; the heights are marked in metres, the highest accurately determined point being 1,733 metres, or 5,685 feet above sea level. This point is 5 miles north-east of Petra. That well-known hill, Jebel Harun, which is some 3 miles to the south-west of Petra, and is sometimes said to be the highest point of the range, is, as a fact, only 1,336 metres above sea level, or 4,383 feet.

The neighbourhood of Petra is naturally better provided with names than the rest of the sheet. The main feature of the area represented is the mountain range of Seir, running southwards, through Petra, for some hundred kilometres, occupying the middle space between the Wadi Araba on the west and the Ma'an Railway on the east.

It should be added that this interesting compilation was drawn and reproduced by the Survey of Palestine.

C.F.A-C.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :

The Antiquaries Journal, XIX, 4.
The Expository Times, October–December, 1939.
Great Britain and the East, October–December, 1939.
The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, LXIX, III.
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American Journal of Philology, LX, 4.

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Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, IX, No. 1.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS

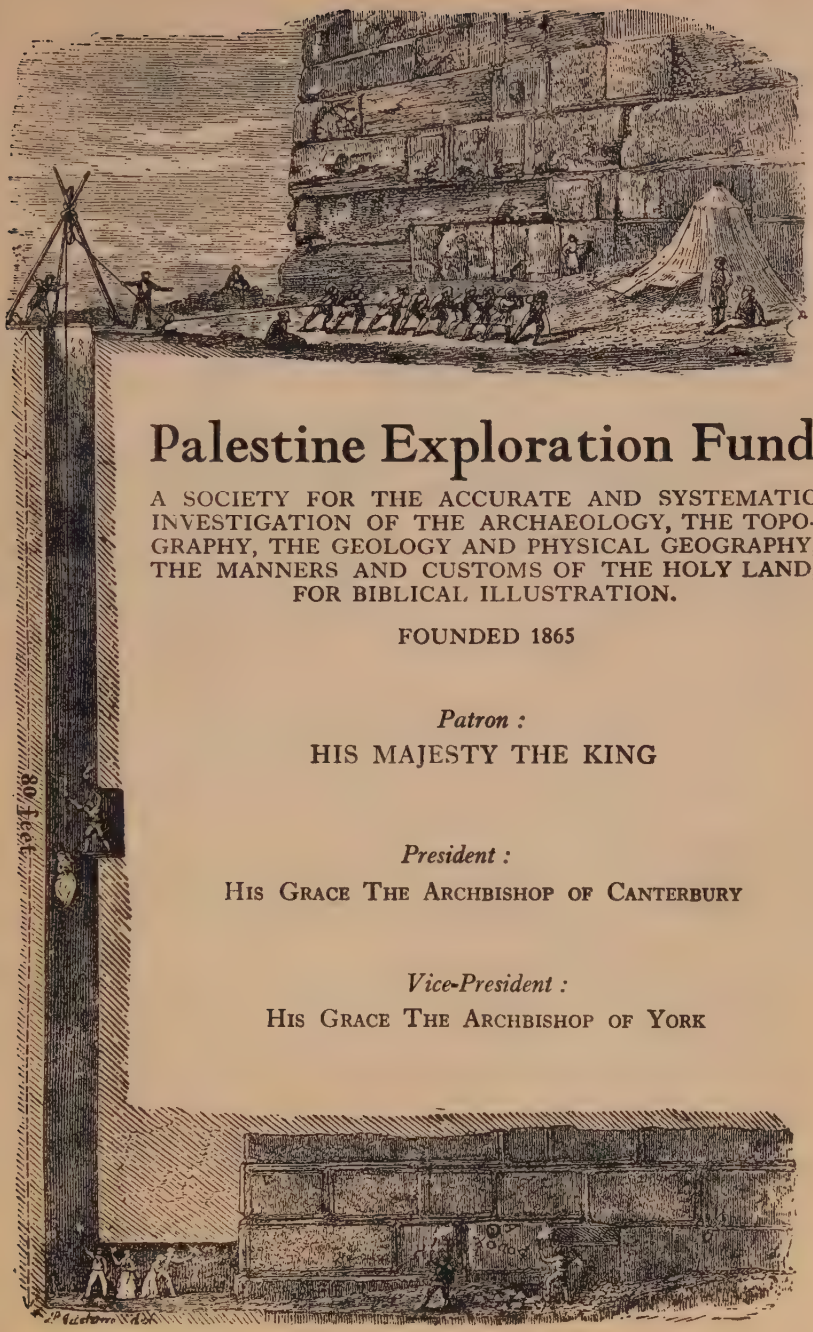
HEBREW

Hebrew	English		Hebrew	English	
א	ʾ		כ ך	kh	
ב	b		ל	l	
ב	bh		מ ם	m	
ג	g		נ ן	n	
ג	gh		ס	s	
ד	d		ע	ʿ	
ד	dh		פ ף	p	
ה	h		פ ף	f	
ו	v, w		צ ץ	z	
ז	z		ק	k	
ח	h		ר	r	
ט	t		שׁ	sh	
י	y		שׂ	s	
כ	k		ת	t	
			ת	th	

ARABIC

Arabic	English		Arabic	English	
ا	ʾ		ض	d	
ب	b		ط	t	
ت	t		ظ	tz	
ث	th		ع	ʿ	
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh	
ح	h		ف	f	
خ	kh		ق	k	
د	d		ك	k	
ذ	dh		ل	l	
ر	r		م	m	
ز	z		ن	n	
س	s		ه	h	
ش	sh		و	w	
ص	z		ي	y	

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū



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THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND
NOTES AND NEWS

THE Editor wishes to express his sincere thanks to those contributors who are making it possible for the QUARTERLY to continue publication during these difficult times, and hopes that all who are interested and have leisure to do so will send articles or reviews related to Palestine and the Near East.

Those who are interested in the growth of myth will find amusement and instruction in an excellent article by Dr. Godbey which appeared in the July issue, 1939, of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, on " The Unicorn in the Old Testament." That fabulous creature has found a heraldic refuge in no less exalted a place than the royal arms of England, and may also be said to enjoy a religious sanction in that he appears nine times in the English authorized version of the Old Testament. It may surprise some to learn that both the conception of the unicorn and the great body of myth and folk-tale which has gathered round the unicorn, are of no earlier origin than the mediaeval period of European history. The actual factors which contributed to the growth of the unicorn myth are two-fold. The first is the misinterpretation of a convention of ancient art familiar enough to archaeologists, namely, the representation of various horned animals in profile, making their two horns, so seen, appear like a single horn. The most striking example of this convention is the common representation on the magnificent reliefs at Persepolis of bulls with horns seen in profile, giving them the appearance of a single horn, but the same convention is abundantly illustrated in ancient Egyptian art. The other factor is to be found in early classical descriptions of the rhinoceros, African or Indian, and in the value which the Chinese attached to the

supposed medicinal properties of the horn of the rhinoceros. In the English Revised Version the unicorn has given place to the wild ox, the formidable *rimu* hunted by the Assyrians, and frequently represented on early cylinder seals. The Hebrew name for the wild ox, *reem*, is borrowed from the Mesopotamian name. It is curious to observe that King James' translators, in their rendering of Deut. xxxiii. 17, have sacrificed Hebrew grammar to the popular idea of the unicorn, by reading " the horns of unicorns " instead of the correct rendering " the horns of a unicorn," which would have shown that for the author of the song in Deut. xxxiii, the *reem* was not a one-horned beast.

It is strange to think that the " great and terrible wilderness," whose dangers and hardships haunted the imagination of the Hebrew people for so many generations, may now be crossed in five hours. We learn from the Jerusalem correspondent of *The Times* that the new 140-mile asphalt motor highway from Palestine into Egypt is now about to be completed. The road leaves Palestine at the old Turkish military post of Auja el-Hafir, so often mentioned in *The Pillars of Wisdom*, crosses the Wady el-Arish, the Old Testament " river of Egypt," and joins the old motor road to Cairo at Ismailia. The cost of the road, including the bridge over the Wady el-Arish, has been surprisingly low, only £1,000 per mile.

The very interesting document published by Conte du Mesnil du Buisson in the recent anniversary volume dedicated to M. Dussaud, has been translated into English and commented on by Professor Albright in the December issue of the *BASOR*. The document in question is a gypsum tablet found at Arslan Tash, where the famous ivories were discovered by Professor Thureau-Dangin's expedition in 1928. It belongs to the class of magical tablets, so familiar to us from Mesopotamian sources. It calls to mind the well-known Lamashtu tablet, having, like that tablet, an incantation on one side, and a pictorial representation of the demons against whom the exorcism are directed, on the other. The date of the tablet, according to Professor Albright, who is undoubtedly right in

placing it earlier than du Buisson, is in the seventh century B.C. The incantation contained in the tablet is intended to assist women in childbirth. The language of the tablet is of the type found in North Semitic inscriptions of the seventh century B.C., commonly styled Phoenician. The names of the demons are Aramaic in form, while the woman mentioned in the tablet bears what seems to be an Assyrian name. There are several interesting points of contact with the nomenclature of the Ras Shamra texts. In Professor Albright's words, " it is thus an admirable illustration of the cultural and religious syncretism existing in the Upper Euphrates Valley in the seventh century B.C."

Visitors to the Assyrian Gallery in the British Museum will often have noticed, perhaps with a mental question-mark, the ornamental rosettes worn on the wrists of Assyrian monarchs and officials, bearing a comical resemblance to wrist-watches. Mrs. Van Buren, whose contributions to Mesopotamian archaeology are of great value, has recently (ZA, September, 1939) published a study of the rosette in Mesopotamian art. She has furnished good evidence for the view that the rosette was the symbol of the goddess Innina, later known as Ishtar. Those who are familiar with the objects discovered by Sir Leonard Woolley at Ur will remember the interesting shell-inlay gaming-boards, whose squares contain inlaid rosettes and eyes. The rosette squares seem, by their position, to indicate important points in the game, and it has been suggested that the squares with rosettes were fortunate squares, since the rosette was the symbol of the goddess, while the squares containing eyes were unlucky, as containing the symbol of the evil eye. It might be objected that the symbol of the eye was also an apotropaic symbol of great power, and reference has already been made in this journal to Mr. Mallowan's discovery of the Temple of the Thousand Eyes in N.W. Mesopotamia.

EXCAVATIONS AT THE CITADEL, JERUSALEM
1934–9

(Memoir of a lecture which was to have been delivered before the P.E.F. in the autumn of 1939.)

By C. N. Johns, M.A.
(Department of Antiquities, Jerusalem)

Ever since the archaeological exploration of Jerusalem was begun by the Palestine Exploration Fund some seventy years ago the Citadel has been regarded as an important site for excavation. It was generally agreed that the largest tower of this fourteenth-century castle, the so-called "Tower of David," stood upon the substructure of one of the three great towers which protected the north side of Herod the Great's palace as described by Josephus (*Wars of the Jews*, book V, chapter iv), and that the courtyard of the castle must therefore cover part of Herod's palace which lay to the south. But, so long as the Turkish régime lasted, the building was under military occupation and excavation was prohibited. With the British occupation the first steps towards a thorough exploration were made by demolishing the somewhat ruinous barracks which took up the greater part of the courtyard, and under the late High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Wauchope, a further clearance of the courtyard was inaugurated. This led to the discovery of an inner defensive wall to which the presumed Herodian tower once belonged, and against the ruins of this older wall the Department of Antiquities in Palestine has recently carried out a series of soundings with the object of establishing its history.[1]

The course of this older line is shown on the accompanying

[1] See Vol. V, *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, "Excavations at the Citadel, Jerusalem: Interim Report," pp. 127–31 and Pls. LVIII–LXXIII; Vol. VI, "Excavations in Palestine 1935–6," p. 214; and the forthcoming volume IX under the same heading. The final report will also appear in the *Quarterly*.

plan, Pl. III (reproduced from the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Vol. V, fig. 1, facing p. 127, by permission of the Director). It consisted of three salient towers connected by straight curtain walls, the towers lying normal to a curve of which the curtains form chords. The northern tower of the three is represented by the massive substructure of presumed Herodian date which carries the N.E. tower of the present Citadel, the so-called " Tower of David " (Pl. V, 1 and 2). The other two towers are almost entirely ruined, the middle tower being inferred from portions of its exterior at D, E and F resembling the masonry of the adjacent curtains BD and FG (*Cf.* Pls. VI, 1; VII, 1, and VIII, 1); the southern from a secondary building G, H, J of similar plan, which at H rests upon a nearly parallel wall of the same kind of masonry as that of the adjacent curtain FG. From the way the rock is scarped in the fosse outside this, it seems probable that the wall continued southwards on a line running inside or east of the present city-wall and parallel with it. The surviving masonry of the wall inside the courtyard is not entirely uniform ; it exhibits important variations due to successive repairs ; but it is all in the same tradition of heavy and elaborate construction. The whole system has such symmetry that it must be the outcome of a single plan, and from the placing and size of the towers, the great thickness of the connecting walls and the quality of their masonry, it must undoubtedly have been designed as a defensive line. To what period in the history of Jerusalem does it belong, and what light does it throw upon the topography of the city ?

Since the presumably Herodian substructure of the " Tower of David," dating from the first century B.C., forms an integral part of this fortified line, our enquiry should start from the Jewish historian Josephus's account of this part of the Jewish city as it was in the following century when Titus laid siege to it in 70 A.D. (*Wars*, book V, chapter iv). From his description it is clear that the area now occupied by the Citadel was then dominated by the palace or citadel of Herod situated just inside the north-west corner of the oldest wall of the Jewish city, the wall which Josephus calls the " first " or " very old " wall, and which he attributes to the period of the Monarchy (*cf.* Pl. IV, 2). This wall followed the edge of

the deep ravines of Hinnom and the Kidron on the west, south and east, while on the north it must have run west and east on a line following the southern, or northward, slope of the fold which " David " street descends, thence across the Tyropoeon or central valley in a direct line to meet the Temple enclosure somewhere near the " Wailing Wall " of to-day. The perimeter of the wall was thus quadrangular, the Temple occupying a position at the north-east corner corresponding to the situation of the Herodian palace at the north-west.

The palace itself is described by Josephus as a series of lofty halls, colonnaded cloisters and enclosed gardens embellished with pools and running water, the whole surrounded by a lofty wall and dominated by three strong towers serving as the refuge or keep. These towers, called Hippicus, Phasael and Mariamme (or Mariamne) stood on the north side, and two at least, Phasael and Mariamme, were built into the old city-wall, that is into its northern arm running parallel with the line of " David " street. They were of outstanding height, each being built in three main stages, viz. a solid basement at the bottom, cisterns and living quarters of various description above that, and battlements at the top ; their dimensions in cubits are stated by Josephus in each case. They were built of white, crystalline rock, and their construction was massive in the extreme, the stones very much larger than a man could carry, yet so carefully laid that the whole looked as if it had been hewn out of the living rock. Josephus also tells us (*Wars*, book II, chapter xvii, 8) how the palace suffered damage by mining and fire at the hands of the Jewish rebels early in the revolt against Rome, and how it was again breached by the Roman troops at the close of the siege of 70 A.D. (*ibid*, book VI, chapter viii) ; but he adds that the structures of the three great towers survived, and were preserved together with the wall enclosing the west side of the city (and therefore the west side of the palace) so as to afford a camp for the troops of the Tenth Legion who were left in garrison (*ibid.*, book VII, chapter i).

That the massively built substructure that now carries the N.E. tower or " Tower of David " was probably the solid base of one of these three great towers, Phasael, was first established some sixty years ago by the German architect and antiquary

Conrad Schick (in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, Vol. I, 1878, pp. 226 ff.). At the invitation of the Turkish governor, who suspected that there might be hidden treasure inside, he was enabled not only to measure up the tower, but also to attempt to penetrate the masonry of the ancient substructure at several points. Failing to find any inner chamber, or any hidden treasure, but only bonded masonry, he came to the conclusion that the structure was solid throughout. Its length and breadth, 22 by 17 metres, corresponded closely enough with the figure of 40 cubits each way which Josephus gives for the solid base of the tower Phasael (1 cubit=.525 metre or $20\frac{3}{4}$ inches, hence 40 cubits= 21 metres). Added to the striking size and quality of the masonry, these facts satisfied Schick that this remarkable structure could be identified with the solid substructure of Herod the Great's tower Phasael as described by Josephus.

The first result of our excavations has been to prove this identification beyond question. The full height of the ancient substructure of the tower, which Schick could only guess at, had now been ascertained ; it consists of sixteen courses which average 1 metre 25 cms. (or 4 feet 2 inches) high, and total 19 metres 70 cms. (or about 65 feet). Reckoned as $37\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, this figure approximates as closely as the mean of the length and breadth to the round figure of 40 cubits which Josephus gives for all dimensions of the solid base of the tower Phasael. The substructure is built in two stages, the upper eight courses being stepped back slightly from the top course of the lower eight, yet all the sixteen appear to be of the same style and period (Pl. VI, 2, an arrow indicating the set-back). So far as they have been examined in detail, they are all of the same kind of fine granular limestone, now weathered to a honey colour but snowy white when freshly cut. Most of the stones are huge, weighing probably not less than five tons on the average, some perhaps as much as ten. Yet they were exactly squared and set, being laid dry on deep beds, and wherever they are undisturbed by earthquake their jointing is still very close and true. The margins, the joints and beds show the use of the same tools throughout : the pointed or chisel-pick for drafting, the serrated or comb-pick for finishing. The bosses have in some cases been dressed down with the former tool

to form a fairly raised panel, but for the most part they remain rock-faced. Here and there they show one or more square slots, sometimes centrally or symmetrically placed and often cut deepest at the top or side as if intended to receive the ends of levers used for manoeuvring the stones. Seen as a whole, the great platform of masonry must have looked very like " one entire rock of stone, so growing naturally, and afterwards cut by the hands of artificers," as Josephus describes the Herodian towers (*Wars*, book V, chapter iv, 4, Whiston's translation).

In further confirmation of Josephus's account, which includes the statement that the tower Phasael was one of two " erected by King Herod in the old wall," it is now evident that the substructure in question was an addition to an already existing wall : the adjacent curtain (BCD) belonging to the system of salient towers and connecting curtains which we have traced across the courtyard. The junction appears in Pl. VII, 1, where the west side of the tower (AB in plan) is seen at the left of the picture and the whole length of the adjacent curtain (BCD) to the right behind a roughly built retaining wall. At first glance the lower courses of this straight wall may appear to be of the same kind of drafted masonry throughout, similar to that of the tower base though built of much smaller and more manageable stones only 55 cms. (or 22 inches) in course. But on closer inspection it may be seen that two different pieces of work meet to the left of the centre below the arrow (at C on plan) : there they break courses. In digging a trench perpendicular to the wall, we exposed this junction to a depth of several metres as shown in Pl. VII, 2. Here it may be observed how the top eight courses that are fully seen on the left either rest on or butt against courses of similar though more damaged masonry to the right, some of the stones on the right having been cut away to receive the stones on the left. Evidently the masonry on the left is an addition to that on the right. Similarly in Pls. VI, 2, and VII, 1, continuing left-handed towards the tower, it may be observed that this additional masonry is also secondary to the side of the tower (at B on plan) : upwards of the course next below the set-back in the tower, the lower bed of which no doubt marks the contemporary ground-level, every course of the wall either butts against the larger courses of the tower or was obviously meant

to do so. (*Cf.* also *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Vol. V, Pl. LXXIII, 1.) The left-hand portion of the curtain (BC) was thus secondary both to the tower and to the right-hand portion (CD), or, in other words, a patch closing a gap which on the right widened outwards from the tower with every course. In quality of stone and workmanship this patch compares favourably with the tower, and it is drafted with the same serrated tool, the comb-pick. By contrast, the older masonry on the right is much inferior and less well-preserved ; it is chiefly drafted with a clumsier straight-edged tool, and its stones are marked with mason-marks in the form + or × that nowhere appear on the patch or on the tower. (*Cf. ibid.*, Pl. LXXII.) Hence it seems very likely that the masonry on the right belongs to an older wall which was breached for the construction of the tower, and that the patch was added simply to close the rest of this breach, its masonry being designed to match the older wall in size though executed in the superior style of the tower itself. The resulting patch is remarkably like the masonry of common size which is characteristic of Herodian Samaria (*cf.* Reisner, etc., *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, chapter iv and Pls. 18, 38, 45 ; Kenyon, " Excavations at Samaria : The Forecourt of the Augusteum " in *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1933, pp. 74 ff and Pls. IX–XI), to mention no other of Herod the Great's numerous monuments.

So much may be inferred from a study of the masonry alone. But these conclusions are entirely confirmed by those sections through stratified deposits which we have cut against the north face and west side (AB) of the tower on the one hand, and against the adjacent curtain (at C) on the other hand. Against both the face and side of the tower a wide foundation cutting was found. Only against the face was it traced down to the rock, but in either case pottery of the same main types was obtained from the filling. Against the curtain, on the other hand, we could distinguish a narrower and shallower cutting which extended only as far as the edge of the patch and down to its bottom course, as shown at the top of the section Pl. IV, 1. In that section the top of deposit (e) represents the ground-level which existed when the construction of the tower was begun, the top of (f) the level to which the

surface had risen by the time when the patch (III) was added to the curtain (II), and (g) the filling of the builders' cutting. This filling (g) was covered by a thin deposit of clean, sharp stone-chips distinctly of the same kind of limestone as the new courses above : it was no doubt due to the dressing-down of some of the rough bosses after the stones had been laid (*cf.* Pl. VI, 2, courses of masonry to right of tower above and below level of arrow on left of photograph ; and also Pl. VII, 2, in which the top of the deposit is marked by the lower edge of a grey patch on a stone of the course indicated by arrow). But although the addition of the patch must have come after the accumulation of the deposit (f) which did not exist when the substructure of the tower was begun, no long interval had elapsed, for both (f) and (g) produced all the main types of pottery and other material typical of the filling of the foundation trench around the tower itself. Similar material again came from the succeeding deposit (h), which was composed of filling tipped between the new masonry and a rough retaining wall which for some reason was built parallel to it, and also parallel to the adjacent side of the tower. Coins were frequent in all three deposits, but only those from the upper two (g) and (h) have been cleaned so far : they are largely types of the later Hasmonean rulers, chiefly Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.), with a few of the contemporary Seleucids, but none of Herodian or later date. Nor was there any conspicuous exception to this lower limit of date in the other material common to those deposits and to (f). On such evidence as it has already yielded the stratification goes to confirm the Herodian date of the patch in the curtain as well of the tower base itself, and so corroborates the identification of the tower base with Herod the Great's Phasael which is known historically to have been built about 25–24 B.C.

As there is thus every reason to regard the existing base of the " Tower of David " as the base of the Herodian tower Phasael, how far is the system of towers and curtains which we have traced across the courtyard to the southward to be regarded as part of the pre-existing city-wall in which the Herodian tower was inserted ? In the surviving ruins, which have been excavated to various depths, there are several styles of masonry, so let us first eliminate those parts which appear

to be of Herodian date or later. The latest is the secondary building at the south end of the courtyard (GHJ, *cf. Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Pl. LXX), which is probably of the Crusader period or a little earlier, but which rests on older masonry (exposed at H), which from its position and direction appears to have belonged to an older salient tower of approximately the same size and projection as the middle, or " Corner," tower (DEF). The face of this assumed southern tower resembles in its construction the face of the adjacent curtain to the north (GF); in both cases damaged stones which appear to have come from work resembling the Herodian addition to the northern curtain adjacent to the " Tower of David " were mixed with others resembling those in the pre-Herodian face of that curtain. Equally good and well-cut stones of the former kind are still *in situ* on the inside of both the northern curtain (north of M) and the southern curtain (south of L), in either case at the top of the existing masonry, and another part of the southern curtain has been refaced in the same superb style to a considerable depth (at K, *cf. Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, Pl. LXXIII, 2). From their style as well as from the adjacent debris, all these parts of the southern curtain and tower seem to be either Herodian work or else post-Herodian repairs. But at one place on the inner side of the southern curtain (at L), masonry of Herodian style rests upon undisturbed stones resembling those of the pre-Herodian work in the face of the northern curtain, viz. stones drafted with a straight-edged tool. Hence there is reason to suppose that, even where the facing of these curtain-walls is Herodian or later, it merely covers or replaces older work such as the less finished pre-Herodian masonry still extant in that part of the northern curtain which preceded the insertion of the patch associated with the Herodian tower base.

If both the curtains (BD, FG) which flank the middle (or " Corner ") tower (DEF) were pre-Herodian, what of the tower itself? The ruins of its face and sides (Pls. VI, 1; VIII, 1), which appear to have covered a solid core of masonry like that of the Herodian base of the " Tower of David," are built of drafted masonry resembling the Herodian rather than the pre-Herodian; that is to say, although the stones are uniform in

size and quality with those of the pre-Herodian part of the northern curtain, they show the comb-pick dressing typical of the Herodian but rare in the pre-Herodian work, and they lack the mason-marks in the form + or × which are distinctive of the pre-Herodian work in the northern curtain. But while the masonry resembles the Herodian in finish, it is inferior in construction. Is it to be regarded as transitional, a phase coming after the adjacent pre-Herodian work in the northern curtain but before the Herodian addition ? The former proposition, that it comes after the adjacent part of the northern curtain, is hardly supported by its junction with the adjacent end of the curtain (at D). As Pl. VIII, 1 shows, the two constructions abut in a straight joint which may well go down to rock (indicated by arrow, the width of the tower wall extending to the next straight joint on the right which separates it from a different and older wall, see below p. 50). On one side of that vertical joint the end of the curtain-wall is recessed ; on the other side, an ashlar facing intersects the tower wall perpendicularly, coinciding with the inner face of that recess. This facing probably represents the side of a doorway in the tower wall, the rest of which disappeared with the demolition of the rest of the tower wall in front. (*Cf.* the ancient curtain and tower with side doorway found to the south of " David " street about 1863, de Vogué, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, p. 112.) Beyond that facing the drafted stones forming the face of the tower wall continue inwards across the width of the adjacent curtain, how far in is not known. Hence it may well be argued that the tower was built not after the curtain but before it ; in that case the recess at the end of the curtain would have been necessary to avoid partly blocking an existing doorway in the side of the tower, while the peculiar line assumed by the face of the curtain would be explained by the fact that it was built on the ruins of an older wall (II on I, Pl. IV, 1), which was built before such a tower existed. Against this, however, it should be pointed out that the presumed sill level of that doorway comes some two courses higher than the ground-level which existed when that reconstruction of the curtain was begun (at the surface of (d)), and that it corresponds rather with the higher level (the surface of (e)), to which the surface had risen when the later Herodian substructure

of the " Tower of David " was begun. Thus the evidence of the masonry is conflicting, and until another sounding can be made so as to relate the masonry of the tower with the remaining deposits, e.g. against the face (at E), it is hardly possible to arrive at a conclusion one way or the other.

At present, therefore, the two flanking curtains (BD, FG) alone may be regarded as definitely pre-Herodian, and it was against the northern as the better preserved and more accessible that we cut a trench perpendicular to the face (at C) in order to ascertain the history of the pre-existing fortifications which Herod and his successors improved or repaired. The strip of the wall thus exposed is shown in Pl. VII, 2, and the section seen on the east side is illustrated in Pl. IV, 1. As may be seen in the photograph, there were three phases in the construction of this wall, which in the section we have distinguished as I, II, III, counting from the bottom. Of these, the uppermost and latest (III) is the Herodian addition associated with the adjacent base of the " Tower of David " which we have identified with the tower Phasael ; eight courses appear in full in the photograph, a ninth in part. Underneath this, there are two, more heavily bossed courses of the previous wall (II) which rises to a greater height at the right or west, being the curtain-wall (CD) distinguished by mason-marks in the form + or × to which the Herodian tower was added. At the bottom there are eight or nine courses (I) of a much clumsier style of building founded on the living rock. These lowest courses form the base of the curtain from the right-hand side of the trench right along to the junction of the curtain with the middle tower further to the right or west (C to D in plan) : there they stand to the same height as in the trench (up to the projecting course which forms the bottom of the recess in the curtain seen in Pl. VIII, 1). These courses are of chalky stone, only roughly hewn with the quarry-pick or axe ; they are laid dry and deeply bedded. Rude as they appear, they were not built as foundations ; at least not from the right-hand side of the trench westwards, for on this side of the trench, and also in the sounding exposing the south-west end of the curtain (at D), the section shows undisturbed level deposits merging against the stones for a height of 3 or 4 metres above the rock, i.e. practically to the full height of the remaining courses. The

deposits on this side must have accumulated on the rock after the building of these courses, which must therefore have been once free-standing, constructed at a time when the rock was bare. Nevertheless, it seems quite unlikely that these courses of the original wall survive on the east or left-hand side of the trench, or beyond it. In the section exposed on this side (Pl. IV, 1), there is a marked foundation cutting which could be distinguished in plan also as the excavation proceeded ; starting level with the bottom of the second phase of building (II) at the top of deposit (d), it converged upon the original masonry (I) at the right or west, probably meeting it just outside our trench, and so exposing the broken end of the original wall, the stones of which are seen projecting from the right-hand side of the trench in the photograph (Pl. VIII, 1). Consequently, the stones that are seen to the left of the trench, breaking courses with those on the right, are in all probability additional, having been inserted as foundations for the drafted masonry of the next phase (II) which was elsewhere built upon the original wall (I), which to the west still stood up to the then existing ground-level, if not higher.

This being the case, how had the eastern part of the original wall (I) come to suffer such damage that it had to be rebuilt from its foundation before the whole wall could be reconstructed ? The most likely explanation is that the wall was deliberately destroyed, being either damaged by a besieging enemy or torn up from its foundation as a consequence of his victory. The history of antiquity abounds with such examples : according to Josephus (*Wars*, book VII, chapter i, 1), the Romans demolished the Jewish walls of Jerusalem quite as radically ; or again, as Mr. Crowfoot has reminded me, Josephus also tells us (*Antiquities of the Jews*, book XIII, chapter viii, 3) how, in the time of John Hyrcanus, Antiochus VII stipulated that the fortifications of Jerusalem should be dismantled before he would raise his siege. That a battle occurred in front of the original wall in the interval between its construction and reconstruction has been proved by the discovery of a great number of iron and bronze javelin-heads and some broken stone ballista balls on an even slope (c) in front of the wall, a slope which extended beyond a rubble wall crossing the trench six metres away to the north. Since it

interrupts that slope, this rubble wall must have been put up shortly afterwards. It lies obliquely to the old curtain wall, diverging from it on a line which runs just outside the north-west corner of the Herodian base of the " Tower of David," where we have intersected it in another trench. It was eventually buried by the accumulation of deposit (d) which formed the surface of the ground at the time when the curtain was rebuilt (as II). Hence it may be conjectured that the original wall (I) was breached in consequence of siege, perhaps simultaneously with a tower standing in the key position later occupied by the Herodian tower Phasael; that the breach was temporarily masked by the stout if rudely built rubble wall in front which may have enclosed the ruins of such a tower; and that a certain interval elapsed before the breach could be repaired by the reconstruction of the original wall in the superior form (II) in which Herod the Great eventually found it.

What is the date of the original wall and its reconstruction? This must depend upon the contents of the successive deposits related with the two periods of masonry; they are not yet fully known because a great number of coins have still to be cleaned; but with that reserve I offer the following suggestions. The original phase of the wall (I) is probably not older than the Hellenistic period. The only unmixed pottery of earlier date: red-burnished ware typical of the late Hebrew Monarchy (eighth–seventh centuries B.C.), was found in the rock pocket (a), not in direct relation with the wall though no doubt antecedent to it. Although a proportion of such early ware regularly occurred in the subsequent deposits, it was mixed with sherds which in form and texture resembled the late Hellenistic, or Herodian. Even in the lowest deposit (b) which clearly followed the construction of the lowest courses of the wall there was some admixture of that kind, and with each successive main deposit the proportion increased. The next deposit (c) was marked by the relics of battle already referred to, which included cast bronze javelin-heads of Greek type. Near the bottom of the next (d) the first coins appeared, Seleucid types of the second century B.C., and about one-third of the way up came the first Hasmonean coins, recognizable by their shape as not earlier than the time of John Hyrcanus (135–103 B.C.). At the surface of (d) the recon-

struction of the wall as phase II took place, with the cutting of the foundation trench and its re-filling (e). From deposit (e) upwards there was a preponderance of those pottery types which are known to date from the second and first centuries B.C. For instance, the filling of the foundation trench contained a complete used cooking-pot of a type that was commonly found *in situ* at the surface of (e) and above, and since the deposits above (e) were all contemporary with the Herodian work, it is conceivable that such pots actually belonged to the workmen employed in the building. Coins were also plentiful from (e) upwards, but they have still to be cleaned. Deficient as it is in this respect, the evidence from these layers goes to show that the reconstruction of the wall as phase II cannot have taken place before the end of the second century B.C., and may well have been delayed until the first half of the first century B.C.

On this showing certain historical parallels present themselves out of the many occasions for fortification and re-fortification presented by the troubled history of Jerusalem in the second and first centuries B.C. Since the deposit (d) which came between the battle and the building of the advanced blocking wall on the one hand, and phase II of the main wall on the other hand, cannot be earlier than the second century B.C., it is surely to the Seleucid-Maccabean wars of that century that we must look for the occasion of the demolition that led to both those works of construction. The sieges of Jerusalem by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (168 B.C.) and by Antiochus VII Sidetes, the last powerful Seleucid king (134 B.C.), are both possible occasions, the latter being the more probable. In the latter case, it is conceivable that the demolition may be no other than that dismantling of the city-wall which I have already mentioned as being imposed upon John Hyrcanus by Antiochus VII as a condition of his withdrawal. In either case, the establishment of the original wall (I) could hardly have been later than the time of the first Maccabean rulers : it may have been due to Judas (died 160 B.C.), or Jonathan (died 143 B.C.), or at the latest Simon (died 134 B.C.) ; but most probably it is Jonathan's, since in history he especially is credited with building up the city and fortifying " the walls and Mount Sion round about with square stones " (I *Maccabees*, chapters x, 10–11 ; xii, 35–37 ; Josephus, *Antiquities*, book XIII,

chapter ii, 2, in 145–43 B.C.). Its heavy and clumsy construction is indeed not at all unlike that of the undoubtedly Maccabean additions to the city-wall at Khirbet et-Tubeiqa near Hebron, which the excavations of Dr. Sellers have finally proved to be the site of the Beth-Zur or Bethsura of *I and II Maccabees* and Josephus, which is constantly mentioned in connection with a Maccabean stronghold in Jerusalem (see Sellers, *The Citadel of Beth-Zur*, Philadelphia, 1933).

Once breached, the wall of phase I must soon have been masked by the building of the rubble blocking wall in front, but some time elapsed before the main wall was reconstructed as in phase II. As we have seen, the contents of the layers preceding and succeeding the reconstruction point to a date not earlier than the end of the second century B.C. or the beginning of the first century B.C. The most likely occasion is perhaps the long and successful reign of John Hyrcanus's successor, Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.), and in fact his fortress the Alexandrium at Qarn Sartaba in the Jordan Valley, built probably about 100 B.C., furnishes the best parallel to the rugged masonry of phase II. Moreover, in repairs that may be dated to the beginning of the reign of Herod the Great (39 B.C.), it also furnishes a close parallel to the more finished masonry of our phase III, the Herodian additions to our phase II. (See Abel in *Revue Biblique*, 1923, pp. 227 ff. and figs. 8 and 9.)

As for the grandiose additions of Herod the Great which included the surviving base of the tower Phasael and the adjacent patch of phase III, they may unquestionably be dated from 25–24 B.C. onwards. Hence, if the middle tower falls between phase II and phase III, as its style would suggest, it is perhaps to be attributed to Herod's father Antipater, to whom Caesar granted permission to re-fortify Jerusalem in 48–7 B.C., less than a generation earlier. Further, the mixed facing of the southern curtain-wall (FG) and the presumed south tower (at H) which we have seen reason to regard as post-Herodian may conceivably represent the reparation of damage done during the course of the Jewish revolt and the Roman siege ; for, on the two occasions I have quoted on p. 38, Josephus reports that towers in the neighbourhood of the Herodian great towers were breached, and he concludes by explaining that the Romans utilized the adjacent palace enclosure for their camp.

Further back than the Maccabean period the history of the ruins cannot be traced with any certainty except through further excavation. But before passing on to consider the topographical significance of our discoveries, I should like to interpolate some speculations regarding what appears to be the oldest surviving part of the line elsewhere in the courtyard. It is contained in the composite wall which formed the back of the middle tower (Pl. VIII, 1). If the face and sides of that tower were removed, we should be left with a slightly curving wall of large rubble masonry, curving with the contour of the rock. Thus exposed, the wall would emerge from the thickness of the southern curtain (at F), hence it is older than phases II or III of that curtain ; and it would terminate in the offset or buttress which abuts on the tower wall (near D in plan ; beneath the figure in the photograph), beyond which it appears to have been torn down for the insertion of the tower. Demonstrably older than phase II or III of the northern curtain, it strongly resembles phase I in its construction. At the top its courses may be rather smaller, but towards the bottom they approach those of phase I in size, and are similarly hewn and laid. Low down on the south (to the right of the photograph, Pl. VIII, 1), they cover a piece of still more primitive construction consisting of boulders and very roughly hewn blocks, which is presumably still older. Now, the upper and later courses have every resemblance to the probably Maccabean courses of phase I at the bottom of the northern curtain, or to the probably Maccabean parts of the wall surrounding the site of Beth-Zur, which was also buttressed. Therefore, the lower and presumably earlier courses must be the most primitive construction we have so far discovered here. Speaking generally, it is typical of pre-Hellenistic or Iron Age construction in the hill-country of Palestine. Is it then of the time of Nehemiah or of the earlier period of the Hebrew Monarchy, as Josephus believed the " first " or " very old " wall to be ? That is a question that can be satisfactorily answered only by digging a sounding in the deep deposits behind.

To resume : although the system of salient towers and connecting curtains which we have discovered may contain some work dating from the Maccabean period or before, yet it was not before the Hasmonean or Herodian period that it

attained the form in which we have traced it at the general level of our excavations. That it was at that time part of the main city-wall, rather than the enclosing wall of an isolated castle, must follow from the conclusion that it includes the base of the tower Phasael which was, in Josephus's words, " erected by King Herod in the old wall." What is more, it has just those features which Josephus dwells upon in his description of the rest of the fortifications of the Jewish city as it was at the time of the Roman siege. Singling out for special description a more recent wall, the northernmost or " third " wall which was still under construction in his own time, having been begun by Herod the Great's grandson, Herod Agrippa I (c. 43–44 A.D., *Wars*, book II, chapter xi, also chapter xx), he emphasizes the solid construction of its curtains and towers, which we have found to be characteristic also of both the Herodian and pre-Herodian work in the Citadel ; and he gives dimensions, 10 cubits or $5\frac{1}{4}$ metres for the width of the curtains and 20 cubits or $10\frac{1}{2}$ metres for the solid height of the towers, which also agree with those of the pre-Herodian part. As for the " first " wall he gives only its relief, 30 cubits or nearly 16 metres (just under 52 feet). The ancient masonry in the Citadel nowhere reaches that height to-day ; in fact the highest surviving portion, the Herodian patch adjacent to the base of the tower Phasael now stands barely 5 metres above the then ground-level. But it is worth noting that the Herodian tower base itself stands nearly 16 metres above the somewhat lower ground-level which existed against the curtain when the tower was begun, and may therefore serve to give a minimum scale for the original height of that wall. The ancient curtain-walls were thus not less commanding than those of the present Citadel. Similarly, the ancient towers were probably as much higher as at present, with the conspicuous exception of the Herodian great towers : Phasael for instance stood to a total height of 90 cubits or 155 feet, more than twice the height of its surviving base in the " Tower of David." If in imagination we remove the other towers and walls of the existing Citadel, little else of which is of older foundation than the Crusader occupation, and if we then restore the ancient wall and its towers to those proportions, we arrive at a picture of the north-west angle of the " first " wall as it was in Herodian times.

Something of its history for the next thousand years may be pieced together from other discoveries which we have made about the building. As Josephus credibly informs us (*Wars*, book VII, chapter i), Titus saved the three Herodian great towers and " so much of the wall as enclosed the city of the west side " because the Herodian palace inside it afforded suitable quarters for the future Roman garrison, which was chiefly of the Tenth Legion. Foundations which may well be the work of that legion actually exist inside the angle of the Jewish wall, south-east of the back of the middle tower (LM), the appropriate ground-level being indicated by an earthenware conduit still *in situ*, the pipes of which bear the stamp L·X·F (*Legio Decima Fretensis*) (Pl. VIII, 2). With the foundation of a Roman colony with its centre to the north of the former Jewish city, the Jewish west wall became part of a new city-wall which followed the old Jewish line on the south and the modern line on the east, north and west (Pl. IV, 2) The beginning of that Roman wall extending northwards of the old Jewish north-west angle is represented by several courses which form the foundations of the present curtain-wall against the north face of the Herodian base of the " Tower of David " (see Pl. VI, 2, left of the tower). The Jewish angle continued to form part of the city-wall throughout Byzantine and Arab times. The foundations of successive buildings of those periods now within the courtyard, which include a building with a round tower of Ummayid style, all tend to follow the axis of the ancient curtain opposite them. But the ancient angle was still clear of secondary building on the outside and remained so until the Crusader occupation in the twelfth century. It was then masked by a new defensive line ; for, to judge from the Crusader masonry which can be recognized at various places in the ring-wall of the present building and its towers, the Latin kings developed their castle both inside and outside the ancient angle, so producing a castle of much the same shape as the present (Pl. III). It probably reproduced the ancient angle even more closely, since its northern and western walls followed the line of the present north-west curtain north of the north-west tower but approached the outer wall of the present west terrace to the south of that. This Crusader castle was dismantled in the

thirteenth century, together with some of the Jewish masonry, and with the construction of the present Mamluke castle on the ruins of the Crusader early in the fourteenth century, the remains of the Jewish line were lost to sight, except for the Herodian base of the " Tower of David."

In conclusion let me point out very briefly what new light our discoveries throw upon the topography of Herodian or pre-Herodian Jerusalem. As must now be evident, the present Citadel sits astride the ancient angle and reproduces it on the west only because the accumulation of debris allowed of the extension of the building on that side in Crusading times. Consequently we must abandon any idea that the existing towers west and south of the " Tower of David " stand on the sites of the two other Herodian towers, Hippicus and Mariamme, which stood close to Phasael. It is now clear that the older Jewish city-wall closely followed the rock contour at this end of the south-west hill, the "Mount Sion" of to-day, and so bent eastward before it reached the pair of divergent ravines which almost separate the south-west from the north-west hill. The Herodian base of the " Tower of David " stands squarely on the saddle or watershed between the two. Continuing eastward on the same contour, the older wall would have bent round with the contour to the south of east, most probably in line with a wall of similar construction which was discovered in 1901 during the building of Christ Church girls' school (see Vincent in *Revue Biblique*, 1910, p. 418), though we have failed to find any connection between this wall and the tower. (The end of the school building is seen on the left edge of the air photograph, Pl. V, 1, just before the offset on the roadway; the view of the tower, Pl. V, 2, was taken from the building next to it on the north.) However it is on this side that we must imagine the tower Mariamme which, with Phasael, " was erected by King Herod in the old wall " on the north side of the palace. As for the third of Herod's great towers, Hippicus, although it serves as the starting-point for Josephus's account of the more recent ' third ' wall as well as the ' first ' (*Wars*, book V, chapter iv), it was presumably a detached tower at first, standing outside the ' first wall ' on the north, probably on the same saddle as Phasael and therefore to the north of the " Tower of David." It is unlikely however that it is in-

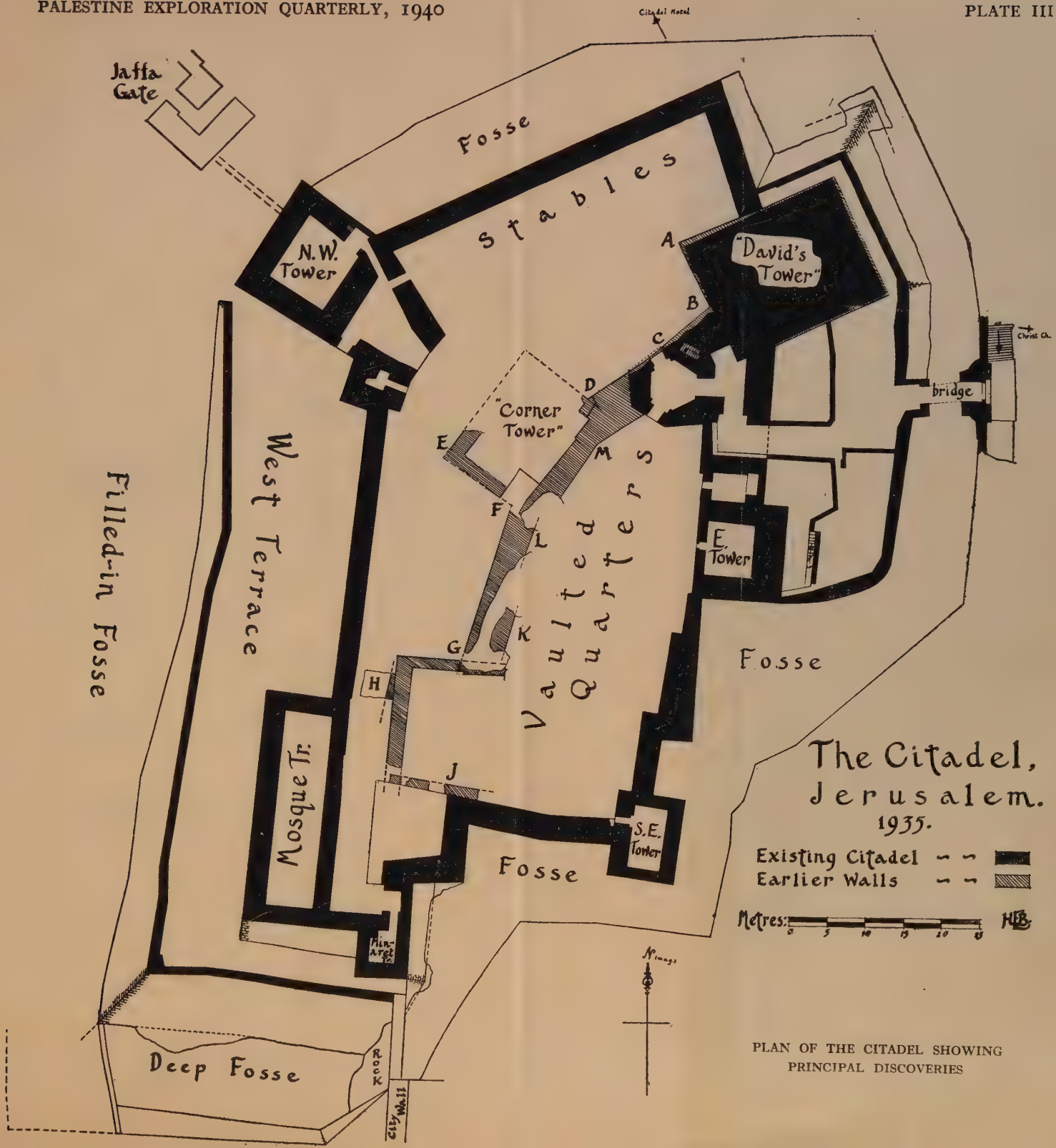
dicated by the wall of large ancient masonry found in 1885 in building the hotel opposite (see *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1886, pp. 21–4) : that wall followed the east side of the hotel (the pinnacled building near the centre of the air photograph, Pl. V, 1), and, to judge from its direction, it is the continuation of the Roman city-wall of which we found some courses *in situ* against the Herodian base of the " Tower of David " (Pl. VI, 2). For the same reason, that wall can no longer be regarded as part of Josephus's ' second ' wall.

Nevertheless, as a glance at the sketch-map of Jerusalem in Pl. IV, 2, will show, the isolated angle of the Jewish wall preserved in the Citadel courtyard readily falls into its place in the supposed trace of the Jewish ' first ' wall as a whole ; and, comprising as it does a dateable scale of architectural styles, this newly-discovered angle affords some interesting points of comparison with the remains of masonry on which the greater part of that trace is based. For its northern line between the Citadel and the Haram (or Temple) wall, and that part of its western line which probably fell within the present west wall, there are few well-authenticated remains. Outside the present city-wall on the south, however, its trace is well known, thanks largely to the labours of the Palestine Exploration Fund. From Maudslay's famous rock-hewn tower base and scarp in Bishop Gobat School at the south-west, F. J. Bliss and A. C. Dickie followed it most of the way to its south-east angle below the ' Pool of Siloam.' From their precise descriptions and exact drawings (*Excavations at Jerusalem*, 1894–7), it is clear that of the two overlapping systems which they trace, the upper must have belonged to the Roman or Byzantine wall, the lower to the Jewish. As at the Citadel, the ruins of the Jewish wall and its towers were of heavy, drafted masonry throughout, set more or less closely without mortar, while here and there its courses were of identical finish with one or other of our phases II and III. Thus the oldest part of the wall retaining the ' Pool of Siloam,' and the original part of the gate on the south (pp. 88 ff.), resembled our pre-Herodian phase II, while the connected west wall of the ' Pool ' had rude mason-marks in the form of a triangle (pp. 116 ff.); portions of the wall to the west of that again (at ' X,' pp. 38–40 ; ' Y,' pp. 83–5) had the proportions and finish of our middle tower ; and at other places

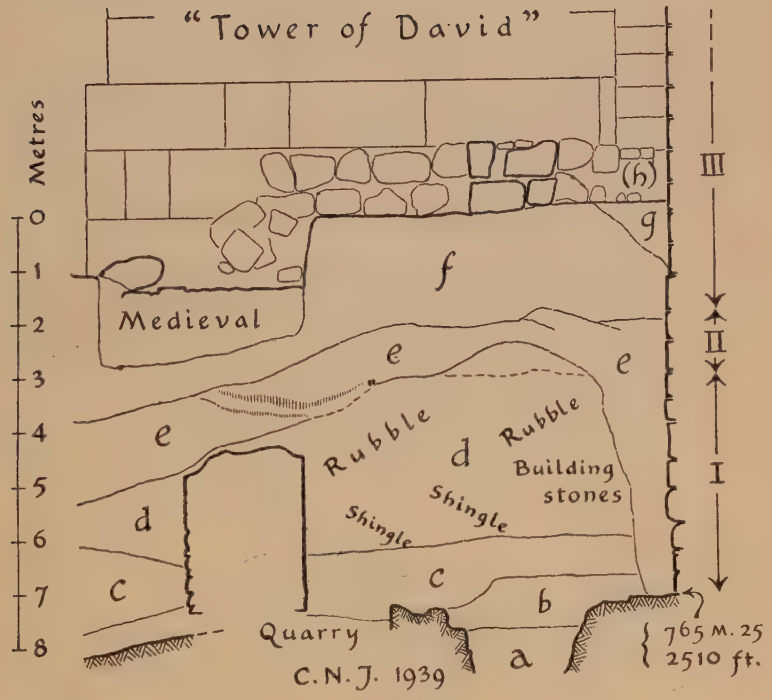
(' Tower T,' pp. 29 ff., also ' Tower near Gate,' pp. 93–6, and ' Corner Buttress,' pp. 106–7, at the two outer angles of the Pool respectively), the first mentioned pre-Herodian work had been reinforced in the remarkably finished style of our Herodian phase III. How far the rude rubble courses found below these courses or elsewhere in the line are comparable to our phase I, or are merely foundations, it is difficult to tell. It only remains to add that the tower of drafted masonry which Sir Charles Warren found to be antecedent to the Roman or Byzantine city-wall approaching the south-east angle of the Haram area (his ' extra tower,' *Survey of Western Palestine*: *Jerusalem*, pp. 226–31 and accompanying plates V and XI) would seem to have more in common with our phases II or III than with phase I or any pre-Hellenistic work in the neighbourhood, and may thus fill another gap in the circuit of the ' first ' wall of Jewish Jerusalem as it must have been in the first century B.C.

Our conclusions may be summed up as follows, working backwards through the history of Jerusalem. The present Citadel, a building of the Mamluke and early Turkish periods, fourteenth to sixteenth centuries A.D., stands upon the ruined Crusader castle of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This Crusader castle was built astride the still existing Roman or Byzantine city-wall so as to incorporate the remaining part of the Herodian tower Phasael. This tower and the part of that ancient city-wall including the two towers lying to the south belonged to a portion of the Jewish ' first ' wall which had survived the Roman demolition of Jewish Jerusalem in A.D. 70. But Herod the Great's tower, built c. 25–24 B.C., was actually inserted in that older city-wall: the greater part of that city-wall or system of salient towers and connecting curtains now visible in the courtyard dates from before Herod's time, much of it from the beginning of the first century B.C. in all probability. From its evident resemblance to the earlier phases of those fortifications near the " Pool of Siloam " which previous archaeologists have identified with the southern extension of the Jewish ' first ' wall, it seems clear that that part of the ' first ' wall also must have been established by the beginning of the first century B.C. But the system of this period which we have recently discovered in the Citadel was at least in part a

reconstruction of an earlier line of fortifications which cannot have been established later than the period of the Maccabean wars in the middle of the second century B.C. Further, this line appears at one place to have been a reconstruction of a still more primitive line, which perhaps represents the earliest fortification of the site, but of which the date is as yet unknown. Deposits of pottery found close to the rock here and there about the building prove that the site was occupied towards the close of the period of the Hebrew Monarchy, from about the eighth century B.C. to the time of the Exile at the beginning of the seventh century B.C. ; but whether that earliest line represents a city-wall of that period, or Nehemiah's reconstruction of it in the fifth century B.C., or the earliest Hellenistic or Maccabean fortification ; or whether a city-wall comparable with the Israelite wall of Samaria exists on a different line elsewhere on the site, future excavations must decide.



PLAN OF THE CITADEL SHOWING PRINCIPAL DISCOVERIES



SECTION AGAINST ANCIENT CITY WALL NEAR "TOWER OF DAVID" (AT C ON PLAN) LOOKING NORTH-EAST.

FIG. 1

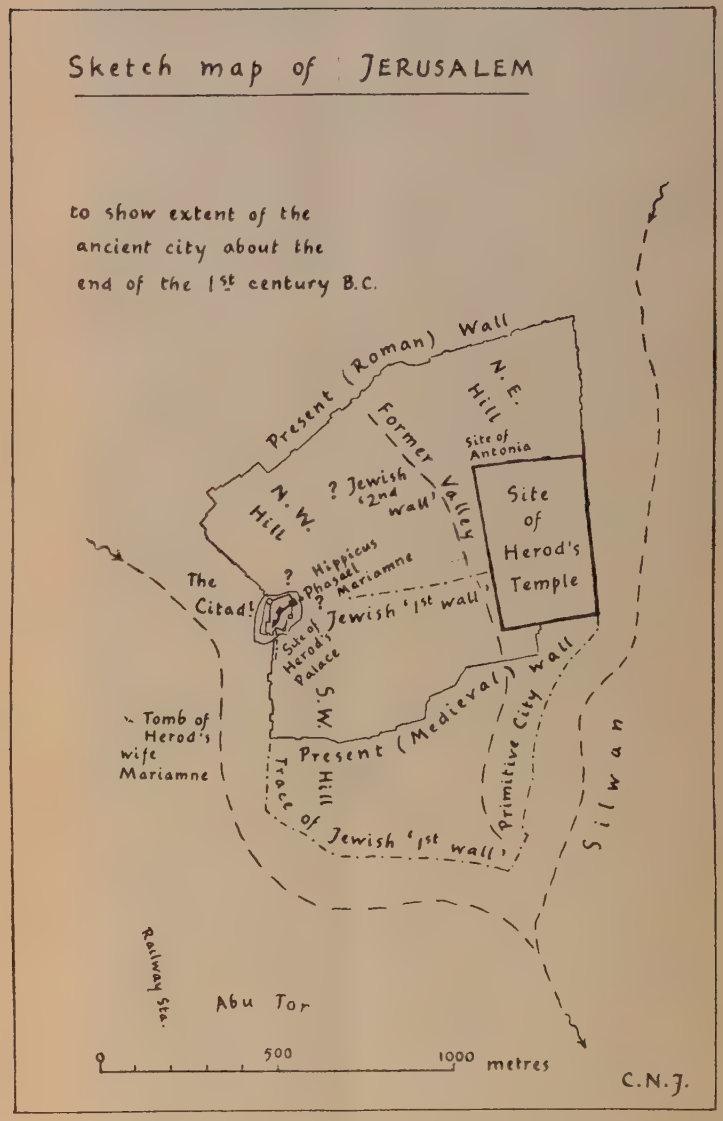


FIG. 2

PLATE V

1. AERIAL VIEW FROM THE NORTH-EAST, CF. PL. III (ROYAL AIR FORCE OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPH): (CROWN COPYRIGHT RESERVED).
2. THE " TOWER OF DAVID " FROM THE EAST ; THE LARGE COURSES ABOVE THE TOP OF THE MEDIEVAL GLACIS BELONG TO THE UPPER PART OF THE HERODIAN BASEMENT ; TO THE LEFT IS THE MAIN ENTRANCE TO THE CITADEL.

   PHOTOGRAPH BY DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE.

PLATE VI

1. THE COURTYARD FROM THE WEST ; THE HERODIAN BASE OF THE " TOWER OF DAVID " IS SEEN ON THE LEFT, A PORTION OF THE FACE OF THE MIDDLE, OR " CORNER " TOWER ON THE RIGHT (E ON PLAN, PL. III); THE INTERVENING CURTAIN (BD) EMERGES FROM BENEATH THE POLYGONAL BUILDING NEAR THE CENTRE OF THE PICTURE.

   PHOTOGRAPH BY DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE.
2. CLOSER VIEW OF THE HERODIAN BASE OF THE " TOWER OF DAVID " FROM THE WEST ; TO THE RIGHT, THE CONTEMPORARY CURTAIN-WALL (BC ON PLAN, PL. III), PARTLY HIDDEN BY THE ROUGH RETAINING WALL IN FRONT, WHICH IS OF THE SAME PERIOD ; TO THE LEFT, THE PRESENT NORTH-WEST CURTAIN WITH COURSES OF THE ROMAN OR BYZANTINE WALL AT THE BOTTOM, EXCAVATED TO THEIR CONTEMPORARY GROUND-LEVEL AT WHICH THE FIGURE STANDS. THE ARROW INDICATES THE SET-BACK IN THE TOWER BASE.

   PHOTOGRAPH BY DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE.

PLATE VII

1. FACE OF THE JEWISH CURTAIN-WALL FROM THE HERODIAN TOWER BASE AT THE LEFT, AS ON THE PREVIOUS PHOTOGRAPH, TO THE MIDDLE TOWER AT THE RIGHT (B TO D ON PLAN, PL. III) ; THE ARROW INDICATES WHERE THE HERODIAN PATCH ASSOCIATED WITH THE TOWER ON THE LEFT MEETS THE PRE-EXISTING OR PRE-HERODIAN MASONRY ON THE RIGHT (C ON PLAN).

   PHOTOGRAPH BY DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE.
2. FULLER VIEW OF THE JUNCTION BETWEEN THE HERODIAN PATCH, TOP LEFT, AND PRE-HERODIAN MASONRY, RIGHT, IN THE CURTAIN-WALL SEEN IN THE ABOVE PHOTOGRAPH, BUT HERE EXPOSED TO GREAT DEPTH BY A TRENCH CUT PERPENDICULAR TO THE WALL (AT C ON PLAN) FROM THE GROUND-LEVEL SHOWN IN THE ABOVE ; EIGHT COURSES OF THE HERODIAN PATCH APPEAR FULLY, COUNTING FROM THE TOP, AND BELOW ARE TWO CONTINUOUS COURSES OF THE PRE-EXISTING DRAFTED MASONRY. BELOW THESE AGAIN ARE EIGHT OR NINE COURSES FOUNDED ON

THE ROCK, ON WHICH THE LOWER, WHITE END OF A TWO-METRE ROD ALSO RESTS; THE STONES EMERGING FROM THE RIGHT-HAND SIDE OF THE TRENCH BELONG TO THE ORIGINAL WALL, THOSE TO THE LEFT MUST HAVE BEEN LET IN AS FOUNDATIONS FOR THE DRAFTED COURSES NEXT ABOVE WHICH PRECEDED THE HERODIAN PATCH. COMPARE SECTION IN PL. IV, 1.

PHOTOGRAPH BY DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE.

PLATE VIII

1. SITE OF PART OF THE MIDDLE OR "CORNER" TOWER AS SEEN FROM THE ROOF OF THE NORTH-WEST TOWER (CF. PL. VI, 1); AT THE FAR LEFT THE SOUTH-WEST END OF THE NORTHERN CURTAIN (D ON PLAN, PL. III, CF. PL. VII, 1); BETWEEN THAT AND THE FIGURE, THE NORTH WALL OF THE TOWER IS SEEN AS IT WERE IN SECTION BETWEEN TWO STRAIGHT JOINTS, THE REST OF IT HAVING BEEN TORN AWAY; TO THE RIGHT, AN OLDER WALL WHICH FORMED THE BACK OF THE TOWER (ML ON PLAN). NOTE HOW A FACING OF SMOOTH MASONRY (THE SIDE OF A DOORWAY ?) INTERSECTS THE TOWER WALL FOR THE GREATER PART OF ITS WIDTH, ORIGINATING AT A LEVEL A LITTLE LOWER THAN THE SURROUNDING GROUND-LEVEL AND A LITTLE HIGHER THAN THE BOTTOM OF THE RECESS AT THE ADJACENT END OF THE CURTAIN. NOTE ALSO THE BUTTRESS IN THE OLDER WALL IN FRONT OF THE FIGURE, AND THE PRIMITIVE, UNCOURSED RUBBLE MASONRY LOWER DOWN ON THE RIGHT, PARTLY COVERED AT THE EXTREME RIGHT BY SECONDARY MASONRY OF MEDIEVAL DATE.

   PHOTOGRAPH BY DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE.

2. PART OF POTTERY CONDUIT FOUND IN SITU AT THE LEVEL WHICH APPEARS AT THE TOP OF THE ABOVE PHOTOGRAPH, BEING SITUATED AT ABOUT THE CENTRE OF THE TOP EDGE (OPPOSITE N.W. CORNER OF PRESENT TOWER TO E OF ANCIENT "CORNER" TOWER IN PLAN, PL. III). THE LEFT-HAND PIPE IS STAMPED NEAR THE JOINT WITH A SMALL RECTANGULAR IMPRESSION CONTAINING THE LETTERS L.X.F. WHICH MAY BE READ BY TURNING THE RIGHT-HAND EDGE OF THE PHOTOGRAPH DOWNWARDS.

   PHOTOGRAPH BY DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES, GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE.

FIG. 1

FIG. 2

FIG. 1

FIG. 2

FIG. 1

FIG. 1

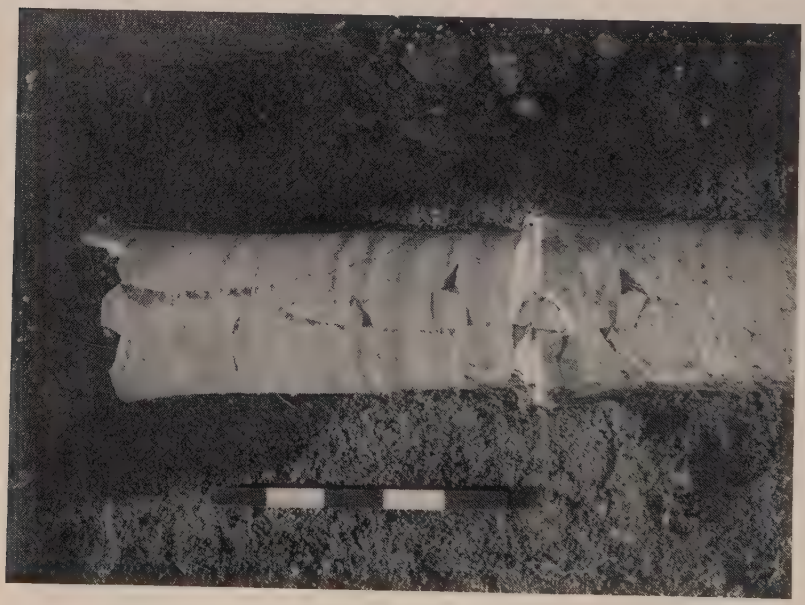


FIG. 2

NOTE ON A POTTERY VESSEL OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

By E. L. Sukenik

It was a good idea indeed of Mr. A. M. Honeyman to collect the names of the different vessels of pottery mentioned in the Old Testament and to try to attach to them types found in archaeological excavations.[1] Mr. Honeyman himself however was aware how difficult it is to reach a degree of certainty in their identification.

The present note seeks to call the attention of Biblical scholars to one vessel, namely the "*sephel*" the name of which is still preserved by the present Arabic population of Palestine. Mr. Honeyman seems to accept G. F. Moore's view that this vessel was of wood and as his article is devoted to ceramics, the *sephel* should be excluded. But as will be seen from the following note the *sephel* is an earthenware vessel.

During the recent excavations of the Joint Expedition to Samaria we visited once the pottery workshop of Jeba', close to Sebastiyeh. By inquiring into the names of the different vessels that were manufactured there, we ascertained that a large bowl said to be used as a wash-basin was called *sifl*. It struck me at once that this Arabic word is similar to the Aramaic ספלא, Hebrew ספל, mentioned twice in the Book of Judges (v. 25, and vi. 38). Mrs. Crowfoot found afterwards that the same word designates earthenware wash-basins in the villages of Yābed and el-Jib.[2] As Mr. Hillelson pointed out to her there is no derivation for this name in Arabic, and it may be assumed that it is a loan-word borrowed from Aramaic or Hebrew. I am attaching here two photographs of such *sifl's*,

[1] A. M. Honeyman, The Pottery Vessels of the Old Testament (in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, April, 1939, pp. 76–90, pls. XVIII–XX).

[2] Mat Impressions on Pot Bases (in *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, Liverpool, Vol. XXV, reprint p. 7 and note 1).

the one from el-Jib (Pl. IX, 1),[1] the other from Yābed (2). They both show that the *sifl* is a pottery basin of considerable size (the Yābed *sifl* has a diameter of about 1 metre). All speculations about the form and size of the vessel in question seem superfluous in view of this living evidence.

The passages in the Old Testament where this word occurs are also more explicable if we assume that this word denotes a vessel of large size. In the Song of Deborah (*Judges* v. 25) Jael was trying to show great hospitality to Sisera " he asked water and she gave him milk ; she brought forth butter in a lordly dish."[2] Her good intentions were not only shown by the fact that instead of water she offered him milk, but also by the large quantity of food she put at his disposal. The same would apply to the second passage (*Judges* vi. 38) where the miracle shown to Gideon was such, that whereas the ground all around was dry, the fleece was so wet that Gideon could wring a large basin full of water out of it.

[1] Our thanks are due to Mrs. Crowfoot for the permission to use this photograph.

[2] To the literature on this passage quoted by G. F. Moore in his *Critical and Exegetical Commentary to Judges*, 2nd ed., pp. 164–165, should be added the article published in Hebrew by M. Seidel in *Leshonenu*, Jerusalem, Vol. III, pp. 5 f.

FIG. 1. VESSEL FROM EL-JIB

FIG. 2. VESSEL FROM YABED

EN MISHPAT : A REJOINDER

By Theodor H. Gaster

In the Palestine Exploration Quarterly, 1939, 204, R. Macgregor offers the suggestion that the proper-name En Mishpaṭ, " Spring of Judgment," of Gen. xiv, 7, was originally En Shōpheṭ, " Spring of (the) Judge," in explanation of which he appeals, on the authority of Dussaud (*Les Découvertes de Ras Shamra*, 69 f.), to a Ras Shamra text in which Shōpheṭ is said to occur as the distinctive title of Aliyān, god of the river sources.

Unfortunately, this suggestion rests on a misapprehension of the evidence, and betrays once again the all too common danger of quoting the Ras Shamra material at second hand.

The facts are as follows :

Shōpheṭ nowhere occurs as a distinctive title of Aliyan. The most that can be said is that in II AB, IV–V, 44 (and parallel passages elsewhere) this deity is addressed as *špṭn*, " our judge, suffete." But the title there stands parallel to *mlkn*, " our king," and is purely general, being in no sense an exclusive appellation, or alternative name, of Aliyan. Hence, the simple Shōpheṭ standing alone cannot be taken as a distinctive title of that one particular god.

Further, in the text published by Virolleaud in Syria XVI, 29–45 *špṭ nhr*, " the suffete (lord) of the river," standing parallel to *zbl ym*, " prince of the sea,"[1] occurs as the name of one of two adversaries encountered and vanquished by Baʿal, god of the rains. This, however, is quite a distinct character, and cannot be identified with Aliyan.[2]

[1] *zbl*, i.e. *zābil*, derives from *z-b-l*=Accadian *zabālu* " be high," on the analogy of Hebrew *nāsi'* from *n-s-'* " lift up."

[2] In lines 28–30 of the text Aliyan-Baʿal himself is addressed in the words: " we have captured *zbl-ym* ; we have captured *špṭ-nhr* " (or, " *zbl-ym* is our captive ; *Špṭ-nhr* is our captive ") showing that he is not to be identified with the latter character. For views on the identity of *Zbl-ym* and *Špṭ-Nhr* see Albright's essay, " Zabil-Yam and Thapit-Nahar, etc." in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, 1936, 17–21, and my own edition of the text in IRAQ, Spring 1937, 21–32.

Lastly, a name which may possibly be read as *Spṭ-B'l* occurs in the document 1929, No. XIX, 2, but the reading is there doubtful, and in any case, there is no evidence for identifying such a *Spṭ-B'l* (which may be a man's personal name ; cp. *Šipṭi-Ba'alum* in the Amarna texts, and OT שפטידו etc). with the god Aliyan.

Thus it is clear that the argument adduced in support of the proposed En Shōpheṭ lacks the basis claimed for it.

On general grounds, also, it may be suggested that a spring would be a natural meeting-place, and therefore an appropriate site for the settling of legal disputes—the ostensible meaning of En Mishpaṭ.

8th December, 1939.

CORRESPONDENCE

Cairo, 6th December, 1939.

The Editor,

PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY.

SIR,

May I venture to point out a few mistakes in the second paragraph of Notes and News on p. 178 in the Journal for October ?

1. The excavations at Tanis have not been carried out by MM. Montet and Drioton, but by M. Montet, M. Drioton being the Director-General of the Egyptian Government Department of Antiquities.

2. It was not the view of the explorers that the site might contain a series of tombs of the 21st and 22nd Dynasties. It is true that such tombs were found last spring, but they were not being searched for, the find being quite unexpected.

3. A tomb (not the first) was discovered containing a skeleton (not a mummy) of one of the Shishaks, but not that of Shishak I, who invaded Judah and spoiled Jerusalem, but that of another of the Shishaks, though on the arm bones were two inlaid gold bracelets inscribed with the name and titles of Shishak I.

The work on the tomb was suspended during the summer and is now further suspended on account of the war, but will be resumed as soon as possible.

Yours faithfully,

A. LUCAS.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Hyksos Reconsidered. By ROBERT M. ENGBERG. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, No. 18. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1939.

This study has grown out of a doctoral dissertation. The author, already known for work done at Megiddo, approaches the subject of the Hyksos primarily from one sphere of his own interests, the material civilization of Palestine during the Middle Bronze II and Late Bronze I periods. His thesis is summed up in a brief introduction. He believes (p. 1) that the Hyksos " were a cultural force in the Nile Valley as early as the reign of Sesostris II (1906–1887 B.C.) " though " there appears to be no reason to suspect that " they " ruled in Egypt before 1730 B.C." He also believes (p. 2) that " Hyksos ideas continued to colour the life of Egypt well into the 18th dynasty. As for Palestine we regard Thutmose III as having dealt the crucial blow to Hyksos ambitions in Asia, but it seems likely that Hyksos blood, modes and practices entered into the composition of the Canaanites as we see them at the coming of the Hebrews." These conclusions are based on arguments advanced in five sections, " The Hyksos from ancient written sources ", " The Hyksos from archaeological sources ", " Evidence of the Hyksos at the time of the 12th dynasty ", " The late Hyksos ", " The ethnic composition of the Hyksos ". The first section contains a study of the text in Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, and of the Egyptian records, which necessarily traverses ground already well explored, and is only a historical setting for the archaeological evidence.

Though Mr. Engberg says a good deal about architecture, especially town planning, and something about various types of antiquities, scarabs, seals, weapons, etc., his main argument is based on pots and sherds ; since it leads to conclusions of

historical importance for a period about which we know little,[1] the main argument alone will be considered here.

Of the " Hyksos products par excellence " the author writes (p. 18) :

> The best known is the so-called " Tell el-Yahudiyyah " type named from an important site in the Delta, where it was found in abundance. It is piriform in shape, with a long constricted neck. The handle, which is characteristically double (i.e., figure 8 in cross section) extends from the shoulder to the rim. The base is often finished with a button effect and the polished surface is usually deep black or bright orange. If black, the surface is often punctured in various designs which are filled with a white pigment. Two other pottery types characteristic of the Hyksos are a relatively large jar with handles at the shoulder and a small jar of neat appearance with a pointed base. It is readily seen that such types, once they were recognized as Hyksos products, became an invaluable aid in the detection of the Hyksos occupation of a site.

This statement requires some consideration. Large jars with handles at the shoulder and small jars with pointed bases may be admirable evidence for dating on any one site, they are not quite such good evidence for contemporaneity on different sites, they are not proof about the race of the makers or users at all. The piriform jug burnished black with double handle, button base and white-filled decoration—henceforth called Type A—is more distinctive and might be proof of a Hyksos settlement in Mr. Engberg's sense if its use were confined to their specific period. But Mr. Engberg proposes to use it, precisely because it is not confined to the time of Hyksos domination, to prove that the Hyksos entered Egypt in the twentieth century. The history of opinion about this pottery, given, so far as dating is concerned, on pp. 25–6, has been curious. At first it was thought to belong to the time of the 12th and 13th dynasties, then it was all assigned exclusively to the Hyksos period, i.e. the seventeenth century ; now it is known from various sites in Nubia and the Fayyum that it started in the time of the 12th dynasty, late in the twentieth, or early in the nineteenth century. The distribution of this ware in Egypt itself does not correspond to the extent of

[1] How little, can be seen from the careful study by an Egyptian scholar, T. C. Labib, *Die Herrschaft der Hyksos in Ägypten und ihr Sturz*, 1936.

Hyksos domination, for it is fairly common in Nubia. Junker was led by the evidence to believe that it was of Nubian origin, *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, Band 198, Abhandlung 3. This has been denied by Bonnet, *Zeitschrift fur ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, Band 59, SS. 119–30, on the basis of Asiatic evidence, used with great freedom and lack of precision, ranging from Cyprus to Anatolia. It used to be believed that this ware was introduced into Egypt from Syria and Palestine, because the ware was common in Palestine, especially in the plainer forms, and because it was known to exist in Syria from many examples of unknown provenance. The position is no longer so simple. The greater precision brought into the dating of Palestinian pottery by Mr. Fitzgerald's work at Beisan and Professor Albright's at Tell Beit Mirsim seem to show that this type of pottery is *not* earlier in Palestine than it is in Egypt, and that it represents a breach in the tradition. In Syria the evidence, some of it available to Mr. Engberg, is definite proof that there this Type A only came into use late in the seventeenth century. The evidence is complicated and needs exposition.

At Byblos examples of Type A were found in tombs of the time of Amenemhat III and Amenemhat IV ; but Byblos was practically an Egyptian colony then. Note that this evidence does *not* favour the view that Hyksos alone produced this ware. " Recent excavation at Byblos," says Mr. Engberg (p. 28), " has revealed the existence of still another type of pottery related to the Hyksos repertoire (comparable to Tell Beit Mirsim G–F painted ware) in a context earlier than that of Tombs I and II," that is, earlier than Amenemhat III. This type and the Tell Beit Mirsim G–F painted ware Mr. Engberg appears to distinguish from " another pottery type " found at Kahun in 1889–90 which is, he says (p. 28), " related to a typical Hyksos form already referred to . . . attributable to the time of Sesostris II." For this second type he adduces Asiatic parallels from Ras Shamra and Byblos. All the pottery mentioned in these quotations belongs to a style—here called Type B—spread over Palestine, western, central and eastern Syria, known at any rate in England as Khabur ware. On this pottery crossed lines or geometrical patterns in bands, which generally leave open spaces, are painted in black or red on a light ground

which can vary considerably ; often birds, fishes or animals, and here and there a human figure, though this is rare, fill odd spaces, or appear in regular rectangles, the so-called " metope " arrangement. The range of shapes is considerable, and differs on various sites. Type B has been found at Chager Bazar, Brak and other sites in the Khabur area by Mr. Mallowan—hence the cant name—at Tell Billa in Level 4 by Professor Speiser, at Mari by M. Parrot, at 'Atshanah in Level VII and Level VI by Sir Leonard Woolley. It can be fairly accurately dated. At Mari it is found in a palace contemporary with Hammurabi and may commence rather earlier. At Chager Bazar it begins, as documents show, in the time of Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria. At 'Atshanah Level VII begins with Yarimlim of Yamkhad, a contemporary of both Hammurabi and Shamshi-Adad. At Mari there is an early break, in Hammurabi's thirty-second year. At Chager Bazar the pottery continued for a long time, but not later than the end of the sixteenth century. At Brak the ware continued till the end of the sixteenth century, for it was succeeded by the white on black ware (Type E) which is nowhere earlier than the fifteenth century. At 'Atshanah Type B was used throughout Level VI, the end of which was probably marked by the Hittite sack of Aleppo at the end of the seventeenth century. The early specimen from Byblos is isolated, and interesting, perhaps, for deciding the origin of the ware. In fact, Type B is the typical ornamental ware of Syria from the end of the nineteenth to the end of the seventeenth century. It is therefore contemporary with Type A, which is found throughout the same period in Egypt. When, then, was Type A used in Syria ? Professor Schaeffer has supplied the answer at Ras Shamra. Type B was in use during and after the time of the 12th dynasty. Type A came in afterwards, probably not earlier than the late seventeenth century, see his report in *Syria* XVII, and *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit*, p. 14. Similarly, at 'Atshanah, Type A appears in Level V, and is not earlier than about 1600 ; it was probably in use throughout the sixteenth century. Stray samples, known from museum collections, must be made to fit the evidence from excavations. Mr. McEwan is only in partial agreement with this verdict ; in the rough table of the results of his

expedition given in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. XLI, p. 10, he dates Type A in Syria between 1800 and 1600 B.C.; he may be able to be more precise on the basis of the comparative material.

Curiously enough, there is evidence, adduced by Mr. Engberg for his Hyksos theory, which points to the introduction of Type B, a Syrian ware, into Egypt late in the seventeenth century, a reverse movement which corresponds to the introduction of Type A into Syria, where it was foreign, about the same time. On p. 19, note 11, Mr. Engberg cites "occurrences of 'Hurrian' pottery in Egypt in pre-18th dynasty contexts," and quotes Petrie-Brunton, *Sedment*, I, Pl. XLV, 67, 68 and 71; Möller-Scharff, *Die archaeologischen Ergebnisse des vorgeschichtlichen Gräberfeldes aus Abusir el-Meleq*, Pl. 70, 484–5; and Brunton, *Qau and Badari*, III, Pl. XVI, 55P and 55R. But these pots are not "Hurrian" in Mr. Engberg's sense, they cannot be compared to the pottery of Tell Billa Level 3, but only to Tell Billa Level 4, Type B. The Egyptian pots are not identical with Type B; they are distinguished occasionally by the use of darker grounds, orange, red, etc., instead of the usual light ground. Wolff, in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Neue Folge), Band 8, S. 74, discussing the Abusir el-Meleq tombs of the Hyksos period, called the pottery "Egyptian," which seems a gross error; Albright, in *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, XII, p. 26, noted the examples from Sedment and Abusir el-Meleq as dating from "about the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the sixteenth century B.C.," and rightly described the pots as "Syrian," though whether the added "imported" is right is another question. These pots in Egypt—Type C—belong to the time when Type B was being driven, or had just been driven, out of use in Syria by Type A.

Palestine provides yet a further chapter in this story. Type A is the characteristic pottery of Middle Bronze II. Then there is a break. In Late Bronze I there occurs on many sites a new kind of painted ware—Type D—which Mr. Engberg rightly regards as closely related to Type C. It is, however, clearly to be distinguished; epithets like "two-colour" merely obscure the true position. The relationship of Type D to Type C and again to Type B lies partly in the shapes, partly

in the patterns used. There is a distinction in Type D in the use of black for the edges of red bands, of red fillings for black outlines of figures, and in the arrangement of birds, fishes and animals in a continuous band on a light ground between red-black bands running round the pot, whereas in Type B and Type C such figures occur not in bands as a rule (though this occurs in ' Ninevite 5 ' ware, as for instance *Iraq*, IV, No. 2, Fig. 25, 9) but in odd spaces. The date of Type D is roughly 1650–1450 B.C., according to Mr. Engberg (p. 38) ; it overlaps with Type C, but not necessarily with Type B. In Palestine its appearance marks the disappearance of the most typical forms of Type A, but in its earliest stage it is contemporary with Type A in Syria. The typological development of Type D out of Type B might be connected with the darker grounds of Type C, or it might be influenced by the use of a local pottery such as is found at 'Atshanah, where plain red and plain black bands end in mixed red-and-black bands in the seventeenth century. It is not impossible that red-and-black will be found to date back to the Type B period. Once the combination of colour had been used, there was only one step in design between Type D and Type B, the orderly arrangement of figures along a band instead of haphazard. An example of the tendency to this arrangement has already been quoted.

To sum up this earlier pottery, the results do not favour Mr. Engberg's description of all the types as Hyksos ; they are certainly not evidence for an intrusion of the Hyksos who dominated Egypt so early as the twentieth century, and incidentally they do not favour the view, commonly expressed in general histories, that the Hyksos power in Egypt depended on rule in Syria, unless we assume that Syrian princes took nothing with them originally when they conquered Egypt. Mr. Engberg has dealt with a baffling problem in a bold way, much as pre-history has to do ; but the solution he offers does not fit the facts of history or explain the difficulties presented by the ceramics.

The term " Hyksos " as applied to pottery is then one form of Mr. Engberg's argument. The other is " Hurrian. " He calls both Type C and Type D " Hurrian pottery " (p. 38). His reason for doing so is given on p. 19:

Some time after the first Hyksos had established themselves in Palestine, another movement made itself felt. There are no literary records from Palestine to indicate who the new people might have been; yet their two-colour pottery, often utilizing bird, tree or fish motifs and distinctive cylinder seals, when compared with northern Mesopotamia, strongly suggest that they were Hurrian. Stated in another way, the new elements in Palestine are comparable to materials used by a northern Mesopotamian people who spoke a Hurrian tongue.

This is a development of remarks by Professor Speiser, *Museum Journal*, XXIII, pp. 273–5, and *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, XIII, p. 49, and goes even further than Mr. Engberg's statement in *Oriental Institute Publications*, Vol. XXXIII, *Megiddo Tombs*, where he says, p. 153:

Speiser has called attention to the similarity between designs on pottery from the third stratum (*ca.* 1600–1400 B.C.) at Tell Billa in northern Mesopotamia and those in question from Palestine and neighbouring districts, and has labelled as "Hurrian" the culture characterized by these designs. In so doing he has laid the foundation for the recognition of a widespread civilization which affected large parts of the Near East in the second millennium B.C. Among the more distinctive motives seen both at Tell Billah and in Palestine are the British union jack, the checkerboard and Macalister's "Amorite" bird. . . .

The emphasis here lies on "designs," for both Mr. Engberg and Professor Speiser are quite clear that the Tell Billa pottery of Level 3—Type E—is not comparable to Type D in shape, since most designs appear on a tall goblet with a long history in Assyria, not known in Palestine; there is no similarity in technique either, for this Type E, wherever it appears, is always characterized by the outline of figures, carried out in a white paint on a red or black ground, or by the reserving of a light, generally cream or buff ground, on a red or black band. Some examples of Type E are known from Yorghan Tepe, "Nuzi," and are dated by documents; the earliest belong to the time when Saushshatar, king of Mitanni, was suzerain, the latest to the capture of the city by the Assyrians in the reign of Ashur-uballiṭ. At ʿAtshanah the same pottery type first appears in Level IV, again dated by documents to the time of Saushshatar's suzerainty, and here that suzerainty can only be subsequent to the last years of Thoth-

mes III, i.e. later than about 1450 B.C. Type E continued in use at 'Atshanah throughout Level III, which commenced with Shubbiluliuma's first Syrian conquests, after 1375 B.C.; in Level II, which must cover at least the early part of the thirteenth century, the technique was applied to many different shapes, and new and fantastic designs—*Illustrated London News*, 9th October, 1937, *Antiquaries Journal*, XVIII, Pls. IX–X; in O.I.P. XXXIII, p. 153, Mr. Engberg wrongly describes these designs as "familiar 'Hurrian'"—were employed. The latest examples of the ware were found in the German excavations at Kar-Tukulti-Enurta and therefore date from about 1250 B.C. Mr. McEwan, in the article quoted, dates this Type E between 1600 and 1200, but the evidence from Judaidah is not really at variance with that from 'Atshanah, see *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLIII, 378–9. Type E was not introduced before 1500 anywhere; so far as can yet be proved, the date of its disappearance is shortly after 1250 B.C. Mr. Engberg dates Type D at Megiddo 1650–1450 B.C. Late Bronze I at Beisan and Tell Beit Mirsim seems to extend to a much later date and to cover the first half of the thirteenth century; but that does not affect the argument, for it is the date of the introduction of these types that matters. Type D is so much earlier in date than Type E, if Mr. Engberg's dating for Type D is correct, that it is impossible to assume that the origin of the decoration on it is derived from Type E.

It is perhaps significant that neither Professor Speiser nor Mr. Engberg, in their comparisons, have mentioned the difference in technique, which could not well be more marked. The use of white paint, quite a different method from the filling of incrustations with a *gesso*-like mixture, differentiates Type E from any other pottery made in the ancient Near East. Professor Speiser has always maintained that this type had western connections; his best argument would lie in the appearance of dolphins on unpublished(?) examples. If the assumption is correct it is possible that the technique was derived from Middle Minoan II practice, for there is documentary evidence that goods from Kaptara, Caphtor, usually thought to be Crete, were in the stores of the palace at Mari shortly after 1800 B.C., and one object named was a ritual pot, see Dossin in *Syria*, XX, p. 111. But there remains an inexplicable lapse in time,

which argues against this assumption. Technique is of the utmost importance in comparing pottery types ; no single rubric, such as " Hurrian," should cover Types D and E.

But the term " Hurrian " applied to Type E is illusory in another respect. It is true that on many sites the introduction of Type E seems to be due to the establishment of Saushshatar's suzerainty. But the use of this ware is not co-extensive with the use of Hurrian speech, as Professor Schaeffer has rightly pointed out, for not a single example has yet been found at Ras Shamra. In Palestine the documents from Amarna and Ta'annak prove that some of the ruling princes and military officers in the early part of the fourteenth century bore Hurrian names ; but not a single piece of Type E ware has been reported as found in a Palestinian site of that period. The Hurrians were an important and civilized element of the population all over Syria three hundred years before the introduction of Type E, and documents in their language dating from about 1800 B.C. have now been published, see Thureau-Dangin in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XXXVI, pp. 1–28. Or the argument can be reversed. Mr. Engberg calls Type C " two-coloured ' Hurrian ' pottery " (p. 35). But Type C is not more than a late and local variant of Type B, the characteristic ware of Level 4 at Tell Billa. Now Level 4 is clearly distinguished from Level 3, in which Type E ware first appears; there was a complete break, probably due to political causes. If Type E is " Hurrian," can Type C reasonably be called so? And if the introduction of Type D into Palestine was due to men of Hurrian speech, why is there not a single sherd of Type D at, for instance, Tell Billa ? At the present stage of knowledge the term " Hurrian " for pottery can only give rise to errors and misunderstandings.

Designs alone, then, are the point of comparison chosen for associating Type D with Type E. No single geometrical pattern employed on Type D pottery can be called distinctive ; examples of each could be culled from unrelated wares spread over large areas, and over many centuries. On Type E the most distinctive theme in common use is the spiral in combinations ; that does not occur commonly on any ancient pottery outside the Mediterranean area, yet Professor Speiser himself has found a spiral ornament on a pot of Tell Ḥalaf style. As

to bird and fish motifs, they can be traced eastwards back through the incised and white-filled grey ware of the Diyalah region in the Gudea period to the dark-on-light of Tepe Hissar and Susa II, and still further, while westwards there is a wide field of selection. Such motifs doubtless have a meaning, but that meaning has nothing to do with race. It may well be religious, but religion in the ancient East had little to do, in its symbolism, with race. And the sporadic appearance of these patterns and motifs in widely separated countries, at intervals of many centuries, may point either to paucity of invention, always a factor in human affairs, or to esoteric doctrines in the potters' guilds about the suitability of certain ornamentation for certain uses, such as the American Indians had.

The ceramic evidence does not, then, establish the historical conclusions that Mr. Engberg draws, and it is possible to think that his views would never have been formed if Type A had not come to be alluded to, for convenience, as " Hyksos ware," and Type E " Hurrian ware." There is an urgent need at present for the invention of a conventional set of terms which can be applied with a precise signification to wares found over large areas in the ancient Near East, such as Type A, Type B, Type E. Question-begging names like " Hyksos " and " Hurrian " must be avoided. Periods, e.g. Middle Bronze II, Late Bronze I, cover too many types, and these designations no longer correspond to observed facts. Descriptions like " Tell Beit Mirsim G-F painted ware " are too limited and too cumbersome. Past experience points a way. Ten years ago, when prehistoric pottery was turning up on several sites in Iraq, and different terminologies were being used in the different camps, I called a conference of directors of expeditions at Baghdad to settle two points of nomenclature. The first was the type names. Discussion showed that period divisions would be useless and even harmful, for the types often overlapped the periods, and the period divisions at one site did not correspond to the strata found elsewhere. Descriptions, like " burnished grey ware " were inadequate because black might be equally common, and " dark-on-light " might include unrelated wares under the same head. Site names were chosen as being colourless and at the same time precise, as a specific

technical description could be referred to. Of late, it is true, this original sense of " Tell Ḥalaf," " Al 'Ubaid," " Uruk," " Jamdat Nasr " wares has been obscured by loose applications of those terms to a wider range of types than was intended, but the terms have been of great use in securing clarity. The second point discussed was the significance of technical terms, and a list of such, in French, German and English, was drawn up, which has led to precision in describing pre-historic wares in Mesopotamia. It was, for instance, decided to avoid altogether terms like " lustre " or " faience." That procedure, if followed with regard to Palestinian, Syrian, Mesopotamian wares of the second millennium now, would do much good. Words like " carinated " are being used in widely different senses. " Two-colour " is used to mean black on red, or red and black on a light ground. The only part of the world where it can be done at present is America. There is material in the Oriental Institute at Chicago and in the University Museum at Philadelphia for the comparison of like types in Palestine, Syria, Anatolia, Mesopotamia and Persia. There are men there, too, with an unrivalled knowledge both of field work in all these lands and of scientific publication. May we not hope that an American congress of Orientalists will appoint a specialist committee to fulfil this urgent need ?

Pottery, especially luxury wares like the types discussed by Mr. Engberg, is an extremely useful means of dating ; it can, on occasion, even be used as a precise instrument for that purpose. When the course of events, wars, revolutions, changes of dynasty, earthquakes, is known, successive types can sometimes be associated with events. Changes in pottery throw invaluable light on the development or retrogression of material civilization, and sometimes from sudden changes political events can be inferred. When wares are spread over many different political entities, international communication can be safely assumed ; Cypriote and Mycenaean wares have proved particularly valuable in this connection. But in the Near East, at any rate in ancient times, pottery alone, or even combined with related antiquities, does not provide evidence for racial theories, however seductive and plausible they appear when first presented.

SIDNEY SMITH.

The Stone Age of Mount Carmel : Vol. II, the Fossil Human Remains from the Levalloiso-Mousterian. By THEODORE D. MCCOWN and Sir ARTHUR KEITH. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1939. Price £3 3*s*.

This richly-illustrated volume, of 390 quarto pages, is one of those publications which it is next to impossible to review—so packed is it from end to end with facts of equal importance for the study of the subject of Palæoanthropology, to which it is a most notable contribution. For many a year—we had almost written, for all time—it will be indispensable in the library of every serious student of this vast and increasingly complex branch of science.

It consists essentially of a descriptive catalogue, with full illustrations and tables of measurements, of one of the largest collections of human fossils as yet discovered. In the words of the preface contributed by Prof. John Beattie, the authors " have had the peculiar advantage of dealing with the most complete and accurately dated discovery of Mid-Pleistocene Man hitherto brought to light."

These bones were, for the greater part, found in two caves in the region of Mount Carmel, respectively called Mughāret et-Tabūn and Mughāreh es-Sukhūl (not " es-Skhūl," as the word is spelt in the book—an impossible orthography). Along with them the authors take into consideration the bones found in certain Galilean caves by Petre. Disregarding isolated fragments, the material represents three male children under ten years, five male adults of an average age of about forty, and two female adults, of thirty to forty years, from Es-Sukhūl ; and a male of about thirty–forty and a female, a little younger, from Et-Tabūn. Their mid-Palaeolithic date is established by the fauna and by the character of the stone implements associated with them.

All three groups—those from the two caves and from Galilea—in spite of some differences of detail, belong ultimately to one and the same human race, to which the authors give the name *Palaeoanthropus palestinensis*. The time for a final decision as to their place in evolution is not yet, nor can it come, as the authors remind us, until there is material to fill the vast blank of Asia, which has as yet yielded no bodily

relics of Palaeolithic man between Palestine and China. But some facts may already be gleaned bearing upon the relation between Palestinian Man and the Pleistocene races of Europe ; on this subject the authors give us full details, comparing their material with Neandertal, Krapina, and Cro-Magnon man, as well as with contemporary " native " races. Palestine man seems to hold an intermediate place between Neandertal and Cro-Magnon man, having resemblances now with one, now with the other : on the whole the balance favours a connection with the former rather than with the latter.

The bones are robust, and, so far as it is possible to make any deductions, the standard of health is fairly high : there is little trace of rheumatic and none at all of dental trouble. On the other hand, the Carmel cave-dwellers were not favoured with longevity any more than their European brethren. The grim side of their life is sufficiently illustrated by one of the children's skeletons, which showed punctured wounds in the backbone and in one ear : and in the pelvis of a man who seems to have been put to death by the horrible process of impalement. A wooden stake seems to have been thrust into his body, and the author's comment upon the force which must have been necessary. To judge from their description it must have been hammered in, and have broken off short before complete penetration.

If all future descriptions of finds of bones conform to the standard set by this admirable volume, knowledge will be advanced far beyond our present conceptions ; and many dark corners will be illumined.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

Grandeur et Décadence de l'Asie. By F. GRENARD. Collection Armand Colin, Paris. 15 francs (paper) ; 17.50 francs (cloth), pp. 224.

This book gives a short account of the history of Asia from the days of antiquity until to-day and in particular of those regions that were afterwards included in the Ottoman Empire. It shows the supremacy of Asia and its fall and its relative rise again in recent times. In the age-long struggle between Europe and Asia Europe is at present supreme. This success is how-

ever not to be attributed to natural resources in which Asia prevails. M. Grenard attributes the success of Europe to the soul and spirit of its peoples, rather than to its scientific and technical discoveries and efficiency.

A.M.H.

Geological Map of Palestine. Scale 1 : 250,000. Published by Survey of Palestine, Jaffa, 1939. Stratigraphy by G. S. Blake. Price 7*s.* 6*d.* (375 mils).

Mr. G. S. Blake has performed a great service to geological science in general and to Palestine in particular by assembling the results of many years of geological observations in Palestine in the form of a comprehensive geological map. Twenty-five separate stratigraphical divisions are shown which in itself is quite a masterpiece of draughtsmanship and colour printing and if the colour distinctions are perhaps not ideal they are at least easily readable.

Geological knowledge of Palestine has been accumulating rapidly of recent years, thanks to the researches of, among others, Mr. Blake, Dr. Picard and his colleagues and of the geologists of the Iraq Petroleum Co., Ltd.; but it must not be forgotten that Professor Blanckenhorn remains the father of Palestine geology. Tectonic conceptions have changed considerably since Blanckenhorn's original map and the relative scarcity of faults shown on the present map is perhaps the outstanding structural difference between the two maps. The Rift Valley of the Dead Sea and Jordan River is a compound effect of faulting and down-warping and the present map shows the extent of observed or inferred faults. In the central part of the Jordan Valley the structure of the Rift can be drawn by down-warping only without any important faulting being necessary. The zoning of the Cretaceous limestone within the Judean hills brings out clearly how a series of anticlines strike obliquely towards the Rift Valley and if the Transjordan side is studied their continuation on the other side of the Rift can be conjectured (without, Mr. Bailey Willis, there being necessarily any lateral displacement !)

Such criticisms as one may make of the present map are mostly of an Oliver Twist nature, namely wanting for more. It is a pity that the geology stops with a bang at the Trans-

jordan and Syrian frontiers as it prevents one from getting a tectonic picture of the region as a whole ; in particular the Rift Valley is a geological unit even if politically divided. The corresponding Syrian authorities have not hesitated, in the case of their geological maps, to cross international frontiers and why not ! Another regret is that Southern Palestine is not included in the map.

What we would now like to see, ideally from the pen of Mr. Blake, is a comprehensive write-up of the geology of Palestine. This is long overdue and the publications of Mr. Blake hitherto on Water and Mineral Resources have been very unsatisfying. Geological literature on Palestine has been accumulating rapidly of recent years, thanks largely to the admirable energy of Dr. Picard and his students but it is high time that all this diffused information was collected and co-ordinated into a self-contained volume. If one compares the present map with the maps of smaller areas surveyed in detail by Dr. Picard and his school there are considerable differences. For example, Mr. Blake shows the northern foot of Mt. Gilboa to be composed of Cenomanian whereas Dr. Picard has mapped it as Eocene. The Barfilya area is shown on the present map as Turonian and by M. Avnimelech as Cenomanian. As time goes on studies will become more and more detailed and Palestine will offer scope for geological research for many years to come, but nevertheless, periodical stocktaking is essential and is at the present moment overdue.

G. M. Lees.

The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Vol. XVII for 1936–7. *The Excavation of Tell Beit Mirsim*, Vol. II, *The Bronze Age*, by William Foxwell Albright. 96pp., 56 plates. New Haven, 1938.

In this volume of the *ASOR* Professor Albright publishes a further instalment of the results of his four campaigns at Tell Beit Mirsim between 1926 and 1932. An account of the first three campaigns, 1926, 1928 and 1930, appeared in his book *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, the pottery finds being published with exemplary fulness in *ASOR*, XII (a work referred to as *TBM*, I) ; the Bronze Age pottery of the 1932

season was the subject of a supplementary article in *ASOR*, XIII (*TBM*, I)

The work now under review (*TBM*, II) deals with the buildings and the objects other than pottery which came to light in the Bronze Age levels, Stratum J to Stratum C. A third volume, covering the Iron Age Strata A and B, is to follow, and it is good news to be told that the author is contemplating a fifth campaign, with the especial purpose of locating the ancient cemeteries, which have hitherto eluded discovery.

In the absence of tombs and of burials in the city (which one might have expected, on the analogy of other sites, at any rate in the Middle Bronze Age) Tell Beit Mirsim has not hitherto proved very rich in objects of intrinsic importance. The finds, however, are practically all from stratified deposits, and Professor Albright is particularly well qualified to bring out their value as contributions to the history of the site. This he has done in a strictly practical and business-like way, addressing himself to serious students rather than to a wider public. The exceptional range of the author's knowledge appears from the footnotes in which he adduces analogies from Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria and Anatolia as well as from other Palestinian sites, but they are as brief as possible ; in the text he resists all temptation to stray from his theme. The plates, which include eleven plans, provide what is necessary to illustrate the text, without any irrelevant display.

An introductory chapter, consisting of sixteen of the eighty-seven paragraphs into which the volume is subdivided, deals with the site (identified with the biblical Kirjath-sepher or Debir) and the methods of excavation. The lowest levels (Early Bronze III to Middle Bronze I) are treated briefly, as they have produced little but pottery and flint implements. A reconsideration of the pottery in the light of excavations published since 1933 (Megiddo, Beisan, Jericho and Ai) leads to the conclusion that Stratum J must be dated between 2500 and 2200 B.C., Stratum I in the twentieth-second century with a possible extension into the twenty-first and H between 2100 and 1900 B.C. The poverty of Stratum H is noted as being in accord with the situation elsewhere at the time. Professor Albright accounts for it thus : " We must apparently suppose that Western Palestine was overrun with nomadic tribes from

the desert during the last quarter of the third millennium and that the nomads began settling down in the twenty-second and twenty-first centuries B.C. At all events, it was not until the eighteenth century that Western Palestine became more densely peopled. . . . "

Strata G and F (between 1900 and 1750 B.C.) are assigned to the sub-period Middle Bronze IIA. The remains of the city wall and of a well-preserved house in Stratum G are fully described. A limestone mould with seven matrices for copper weapons is mentioned, together with other evidence of the increasing use of copper in place of flint and bone, but on the whole G and F were poor in artifacts.

Stratum E (subdivided into E1 and E2) and Stratum D represent a continuous occupation of the site from the late eighteenth century to 1560 or 1550 B.C. (i.e. the date of the Egyptian invasion after the expulsion of the Hyksos), a period designated Middle Bronze II B.C. These strata are richer in material than any earlier ones, and almost half the volume (Chapter IV, §§ 34–67) is devoted to them, including sections on the fortification system, a gateway and plans of houses. The finds include a stela representing the serpent-goddess, scarabs, cylinder and stamp seals, a teetotum with a set of playing-pieces, fragments of ivory and bone inlay, copper weapons and tools, with a mould, copper toggle-pins, amulets and other small objects, all of which receive adequate treatment. The alabaster and faience vases have already been published with the pottery in *TBM*, I, and *TBM*, IA.

A re-examination of the ceramic evidence (noting the absence from Stratum D of the " bichrome " pottery which is found in Strata IX and X at Megiddo) involves no substantial modification of the dates previously assigned to Strata E and D but it leads to the conclusion that Tell Beit Mirsim was abandoned for a considerable time before the late Bronze Age settlement, which is represented by Stratum C. This can be divided into two periods : C1, mid-fifteenth to mid-fourteenth century, and C2 which comes to an end about 1230 B.C., when the city was destroyed by invaders whom the author would identify with the Israelites. The most notable finds in Stratum C were a libation tray decorated with lions and a crude figure of a lion, both of limestone.

To the present reviewer a matter of considerable interest is the discussion in §86 of the chronology of Levels IX to V at Beth-shan. Professor Albright contends that the hitherto accepted dates—ranging from Thothmes III to Rameses II—must be revised downwards to the extent of one or two centuries, though he emphasizes that the evidence of scarabs and stelae was strangely misleading and that the original chronology was based on careful deductions. The crucial argument is that a limestone lintel bearing the name of Rameses III (see *GS*, 1931, p. 69, Pl. V) must be accepted as belonging to a building in Level VI, formerly regarded as the " Seti I Level," and not to Level V. Since we are prepared to admit this we feel no difficulty in adopting Professor Albright's scheme as a working hypothesis, assigning the Beth-shan Levels IX and VIII mainly to the fourteenth century, Level VII to Seti I or Rameses II, Level VI to Rameses III and Level V to the Iron Age, from the twelfth to the tenth century B.C.

G. M. FitzGerald.

PALESTINE STATISTICS[1]

The only criticism that can justifiably be raised against this large and extraordinarily comprehensive and exhaustive volume—a veritable encyclopaedia of present-day Palestine—is the date of its appearance. It covers the year 1938, in some instances to 31st March, 1939, but has only just appeared. The extremely valuable contents, the whole of the raw material on which any consideration of any value of the economics of Palestine can be based, is thus already a year old, and much has happened economically and otherwise during the past year. However the gap is to some extent filled by the excellent General Monthly Bulletins of the Jerusalem Office of Statistics, the latest available at the time of writing being that of December, 1939. With the assistance of this periodical the story hidden in the tables of the Blue Book can be brought up to date.

The Blue Book covers a remarkably wide range. A large part of it is occupied by tables of imports and exports, enumerated by article and by country, with particulars of the multi-

[1] Palestine Blue Book, 1938. Government Printer, Jerusalem. 500 mils

tudinous diverse duties levied on all articles imported. The policy of the Palestine Government can be summed up as (a) import duties imposed for revenue purposes, subject to (b) free admission of all material required by any Palestinian manufacturing industry of any consequence, and (c) heavier duties, in some cases prohibitive, on goods that compete with Palestine manufactures. Under the terms of the Mandate, however, no difference can be made between importing countries, not even Great Britain, members of the League of Nations, except that special arrangements are permitted between Palestine and her neighbours. Under this concession there was until recently free trade between Palestine, Syria and the Lebanon.

The section " Imports and Exports " occupies 146 of these large foolscap pages. Details of the different taxes, fees, etc., levied by the Government occupy another ninety-seven, thirty-three of which are devoted to Customs Duties. Other sections deal with local government, public works, demography, meteorology, labour information, public health, crime, and many other matters. As has already been said this Blue Book is in a sense an encyclopaedia.

It is not possible to examine this vast field of information in detail. One can dip only here and there and select a few facts from which wider statements may be deduced. For instance one gets a hint of the difficulties of administering this tiny country when one learns from page 2 how carefully the Holy days of the several faiths have to be selected and valued so that neither Western churches nor Oriental churches nor Armenian Church nor Moslems nor Jews shall have an advantage in the number of official holidays. In another direction one must wonder how a population of 1,418,192 including some 70,000 nomads and tens of thousands of other illiterates, can support or tolerate 112 periodical publications, apart from official ones, in eight languages.

The total population, apart from nomads and His Majesty's Forces, was estimated to be 1,476,915 on 30th September last (Monthly Bulletin). Of these 428,895 were Jews. It is interesting to note that, despite the large immigration of Jews during the past twenty years, the increase of the Jewish population was less than that of the Arabs, the explanation being that

the Jewish rate of natural increase, although high compared with European standards, was lower than that of the Arabs. This was the case in respect of both births and deaths. Curiously it is the rule throughout the Diaspora, that both the Jewish birth and death rates are lower than those of the surrounding population.

Turning back to exports, one realizes how dependent the economy of Palestine is on the export of citrus fruits. Of a total export for the year of £5,020,368, £3,784,482 consists of this one item, and of the 11,415,490 cases exported in the season 1937–8, 6,908,985 were bought by this country. In other years Britain has taken even a larger proportion. The United Kingdom, in fact, is the only country of any size whose commerce with Palestine shows a balance in favour of the latter. Second on the list of exports comes potash and bromine from the Dead Sea to the value of £322,952. This item is increasing year by year and most of it also is bought by Britain. No other item of export reaches the figure of £100,000.

A. M. H.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :

The Expository Times, January–March, 1940. Recent Biblical Archaeology, by J. W. Jack.

Great Britain and the East, January–March, 1940.

The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, LXIX, IV.

The New Judaea, January–March, 1940.

Religions, January, 1940.

The Scottish Geographical Magazine, 56, 1.

American Journal of Philology, LXI, 1.

American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, LVI, 4. An Objective Criterion for the Dating of Deuteronomy, by W. A. Irwin.

Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 76, December, 1939.

Geographical Review, January, 1940.

The Jewish Quarterly Review, January, 1940.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, and Supplement, 59, 4. The Assumed Conflict between Sumerians and Semites in Early Mesopotamian History, by T. Jacobsen.
Nouvelle Revue Théologique, January, 1940.
Le Muséon, LII, 3–4.
Syria, XX, 3. NQMD et NIQME-HAD, by G. Dossin.
Biblica, 21, 1. The Structure of Ps. XLII–XLIII, by H. H. Rowley.
Bible Lands, January, 1940.
Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, July–September, 1939.
NEA ΣΙΩΝ, August–October, 1939.
The Quartrely of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine, IX, 1.
Development of the Canaanite Dialects, by Z. Harris.
A Journey to the Yemen, by Hugh Scott.
Journal of the Transactions of the Victoria Institute, LXXI.

Palestine Exploration Fund

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THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

THE SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND was held at 2 Hinde Street, London, W.1, on Thursday, 13th June, 1940. The Chairman of the Executive Committee, Colonel Sir Charles Arden-Close, K.B.E., F.R.S., presided. The Chairman, explaining that the meeting was of a formal nature for the transaction of business only, invited the adoption of the annual report and accounts for the year 1939. Mr. W. C. Edwards proposed their adoption which was seconded by Mr. W. H. Boulton and was carried unanimously.

The election of the Executive Committee, constituted as follows, was proposed by Mr. W. C. Edwards, seconded by Mr. W. H. Boulton, and was carried unanimously.

Chairman, Col. Sir Charles F. Arden-Close, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., F.R.S.; Hon. Treasurer, A. M. Hyamson, Esq., O.B.E.; Hon. Secretary, Rev. C. B. Mortlock, M.A.; Miss Estelle Blyth; Prof. Stanley A. Cook, Litt.D., F.B.A.; O. G. S. Crawford, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.; J. W. Crowfoot, Esq., C.B.E., F.S.A.; Rev. Canon H. Danby, D.D.; Prof. J. Garstang, M.A., D.Sc., F.S.A.; Prof. S. H. Hooke, M.A., B.D., F.S.A. (Editor); Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, G.B.E., K.C.B., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A.; Miss Kathleen Kenyon, M.A., F.S.A.; Sir Charles Marston, F.S.A.; E. W. G. Masterman, M.D., F.R.C.S.; Prof. J. L. Myres, D.Litt., M.A., F.B.A.; Col. S. F. Newcombe, D.S.O.; F. J. Salmon, Esq., C.M.G.; Brig.-Gen. E. M. P. Stewart of Coll, C.B., C.B.E.

The re-appointment of Messrs. Turquand, Youngs, McAuliffe & Co., as auditors for 1940 was proposed by Mr. A. M. Hyamson and was carried unanimously.

NOTICE. The rooms of the P.E.F. will be closed from 5th August to 4th September inclusive. At other times and until further notice, the office and library will be open on Tuesdays and Fridays only from 10 a.m. to 4.30 p.m. Correspondence should be addressed to 2 Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.1.

This is a time when long-range views are essential. For the moment the interests to which this journal is devoted may seem too remote from the life and death struggle in which we are engaged to deserve attention. It may even seem to some that the time, energy, paper, and money required to produce an archaeological journal might be better employed in contributing to the national effort to defeat the dark powers against which we are now fighting. This is a short-range view. There are things which the rage of dictators cannot destroy, and it is not a paradox to assert that the scholars and students whose continued search for truth, timeless in its essence, makes the regular appearance of this journal possible, are as truly contributing to the survival of the eternal things for which we fight as those who are making shells.

It is re-assuring to be reminded in the Editorial Notes contained in the current issue of *Antiquity* that, in the Editor's words, " archaeology can be used to create good relations between us and the peoples of other countries." He goes on to point out, very wisely, that the official support of archaeological enterprise is " a policy designed to forge cultural links that will withstand a long strain. It produces a mental attitude that may be decisive at critical moments." This is very well said, and specially needed to be said at the present time.

Those who are interested in the ever-recurrent problem of the Habiru will find that the main body of this issue of the QUARTERLY is occupied with two valuable articles giving the latest results of recent research, linguistic and archaeological, on the Habiru question. It is becoming increasingly clear that the term Habiru has a far wider range in time and

space than the ordinary sense of the word Hebrew, though it still remains very probable that the activities of the Habiru described in the Tell el-Amarna Letters do include a stage of the Hebrew occupation of Canaan. In this connection we may mention the publication of a new book by Professor Garstang under the title of *The Story of Jericho*, embodying in a popular form the results of his long period of excavations on the site of that ancient Canaanite city. A review will appear in due course in this journal, but in the meantime we are glad to direct the attention of our readers to the book.

English students of the Tell el-Amarna Letters will welcome the appearance of an English edition of these important historical documents from the Macmillan Company of Canada, edited by Professor Mercer with the collaboration of Professor Hallock. A review of the two volumes of this new edition, by Mr. C. J. Gadd, is contained in the present issue of the QUARTERLY, and should be read with care by those who use the new edition of the Letters.

Of great importance for the history of the ancient Near East is the publication by Luzac and Company of a pamphlet by Professor Sidney Smith entitled *Alalakh and Chronology*. The opening words of the pamphlet indicate its purport: "Archaeology depends for accurate, as opposed to period, dating on historical facts; owing to peculiar circumstances the chronology of the strata as yet excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley at Atshana, the ancient Alalakh, can be linked closely with historical facts, but doubts about the exact period of the First Dynasty of Babylon render a discussion of the evidence for accurate dating desirable." Many scholars, rightly or wrongly, still adhere to the synchronism of Khammurabi of Babylon with Abraham, hence the accurate dating of Khammurabi's reign is a matter of great interest to Old Testament students, and has a vital bearing on the question of the length of the period between the first appearance of the Hebrews in Canaan and the beginning of written sources for the history of the Hebrews. Professor Sidney Smith's pamph-

let is therefore indispensable to all who are interested in the Old Testament, as well as to archaeologists.

LACHISH II (TELL ED DUWEIR) THE FOSSE TEMPLE. The Wellcome-Marston Archaeological Expedition to the Near East. As, owing to the paper restrictions, the expedition are unable to publish their prospectus of this volume, we have pleasure in giving the following summary of what the prospectus contains.

The book is dedicated to the work of the late Mr. J. L. Starkey, former Director of the Expedition, and follows *Lachish I, The Lachish Letters*, which appeared in 1938. After a list of contents and illustrations, a summary of the text tells us that the publication describes three phases of a Bronze Age temple founded about 1475 B.C. for the veneration of a deity whose identity is unknown. Animal sacrificial evidences indicate a cult akin to that of early Hebrew ritual. The destruction of the temple took place about 1225 B.C., was sudden and final and in the nature of a calamity which affected the whole city. Small objects of fine Syrian work and Egyptian scarabs show an appreciation of such by the people of Lachish. Three scripts were in use. Early alphabetic writing, indicated by the Duweir Ewer, Egyptian hieroglyphs, and the cuneiform script, whose presence is inferred from the evidence of the Tell Amarna Letters. Pottery indicates economic change, the finer wares of the earliest structures being succeeded by a depreciation of technique in later times.

Four illustrations and a specimen page of text are followed in conclusion by an order form. Printed by the Oxford University Press, *Lachish II* is produced in Royal Quarto size, similar to its predecessor and can be ordered through any bookseller, price 25*s*.

We regret to announce the death on 22nd April of Dr. Samuel Klein, Professor of Palestine Research in the Hebrew University, Jerusalem. He was fifty-three years of age. He received his chair in 1925 and specialized in Palestine history and geography. He was successful in identifying a large num-

ber of biblical and historical sites in Palestine and Transjordan through a study of the early literary sources reinforced by personal examination of the suggested sites. Professor Klein was Chairman of the Palestine Jewish Exploration Society, one of the Editors of *Zion*, a quarterly, devoted to Palestine history and geography, and a member of the Board of Directors of the Hebrew University.

RAS SHAMRA AND THE ḪABIRU QUESTION

By H. H. Rowley

In a recent issue of the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* E. G. Kraeling draws attention to some new evidence on the vexed question of the Ḫabiru provided by the Ras Shamra texts.[1] This is contained partly in a communication by Virolleaud to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres,[2] and partly in a letter from Virolleaud. The substance of the former communication is that the correct name of the people normally referred to as the Ḫabiru, or Ḫabiri, was Ḫapiri, while the important new fact disclosed in the letter is that these people appear on a Ras Shamra tablet as *ʿprm* (עפרם). The evidence for this lies in the fact that a town which is referred to in an Accadian Ras Shamra text as ^{âlu}*Ḫal-bi-*^{amêlûti}*SAG-GAZ* stands in a Ras Shamra alphabetic text as *Ḫlb-ʿprm*.

From this Kraeling draws two conclusions. The first is that the identification of Ḫapiri with the Egyptian ʿAperu is "all the more certain." The second is that the identification of the Ḫabiru with the Hebrews must now be given up.[3] It should be observed, however, that Kraeling ends his brief communication on a less certain note than that on which he begins it. For in his opening paragraph, after recording with satisfaction that he has always belonged to the small group of scholars who have rejected the common identification of Ḫabiru with Hebrews, he says that the new discoveries "now seem to have *settled* the issue, and to have made philological theorizing

[1] No. 77, February, 1940, p. 32

[2] *Comptes Rendus*, 1939, p. 329. *Cf. Archiv für Orientforschung*, xiii, 1939, p. 88. (To the latter I have not had access.)

[3] Cf. Virolleaud *Comptes Rendus*, loc. cit.: "Les nouveaux documents permettent . . . d'établir que les Khabiri . . . n'ont rien de commun avec les Hébreux. Il faut lire, en effet, Khapiri . . . et ce simple fait met fin à une controverse qui divisait les érudits depuis un demi-siècle."

superfluous," while his concluding remark is that " if Virolleaud is right it is obvious that the equation with the Hebrews is rendered still *more difficult*, and that all constructions based on it become *more precarious* than ever."[1] He is not, therefore, sure that the issue will be settled by this item of evidence.

How far the new evidence confirms the long-standing distrust which Kraeling and a few other scholars have had for the common equation of Ḫabiru and עברים will be considered below. It may first, however, be observed that in his *Aram and Israel*, to which he refers, Kraeling adopted the view that Ḫabiru was connected, not with עברים but with the root חבר=Accadian *abâru=join*, and that the word therefore means *allies*.[2] This view was proposed by Sayce,[3] and has been for many years championed by Dhorme.[4] It has always regarded Ḫabiru as a Canaanite form, since the initial guttural of this root was lost in Accadian, but retained in Canaanite. More recently Dhorme has preferred to find the meaning *captives*, rather than *allies* in Ḫabiru,[5] following Chiera's analysis of the evidence of the Nuzi texts.[6] Albright adds a short postscript to Kraeling's communication in the *Bulletin*, pointing out that the new evidence proves conclusively that this etymology is wrong. Neither Albright nor Kraeling notes that this was the view of Kraeling in his *Aram*

[1] Italics mine.

[2] *Aram and Israel*, 1918, p. 34.

[3] *P.S.B.A.*, x, 1887–8, p. 496, and xi, 1888–9, p. 347.

[4] *Revue Biblique*, xxxiii, 1924, pp. 12–16, in Pirot's *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, i, 1928, col. 220, and *L'Évolution religieuse d'Israël*, i, 1937, pp. 80 ff. So also Ricciotti, *Storia d'Israele*, 1934, i, pp. 56, 180.

[5] *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, cxviii, 1938, pp. 170 ff.

[6] *A.J.S.L.*, xlix, 1932–3, pp. 115 ff. *Cf.* Wilson " The 'Eperu of the Egyptian Inscriptions," ibid, pp. 275 ff. These writers think that both in Nuzi and Egypt, from *captive* the word developed the sense of *alien, barbarian*. Parzen (*A.J.S.L.*, ibid., pp. 254 ff.) argues that the Biblical עברים also=*barbarians*, with a flavour of contempt. Speiser (*Annual of American Schools of Oriental Research*, xiii, 1933, p. 36) produces evidence against the *captive* theory, and argues that the Ḫabiru were rather *adventurers*, or *soldiers of fortune*, and that the word, though originally an appellative, tended to develop an ethnic meaning.

and Israel, and that the new evidence, which is hailed as confirming distrust of the common view, quite definitely rules out the view which Kraeling had earlier adopted.

On the other hand, as Albright points out in his postscript, it is not quite so conclusive against the other view. The reading of the Accadian word Ḫapiru or Ḫapiri, instead of Ḫabiru or Ḫabiri, had already been proposed before the new evidence was known. Albright notes that for ten years he has maintained this view, and Meek suggests the same reading in his *Hebrew Origins*.[1] The identification of Ḫabiru with ʿAperu has long been maintained by scholars who identify both with עברים. So far the new evidence can hardly be said to embarrass their view. Indeed, it may be said rather to give them support. For the difficulty of the initial Ḫ, which had often been raised against the equation of Ḫabiru with either ʿAperu or עברים, is definitely disposed of. That in other words ḫ=ע[2] had proved that the objection was not fatal, but it had continued to be raised, and Gunn had objected to the equation of Ḫabiru with ʿAperu on the ground that nowhere else does ʿ represent ḫ or ḥ.[3]

The other difficulty is left where it was. For the *p* of ʿAperu as against the *b* of Ḫabiru and עברים provided a difficulty which is not fundamentally changed by the reading Ḫapiru, and the ranging of the Accadian word with the Egyptian in this respect. From the Egyptian side Gunn had found no difficulty here,[4] and from the other there is still less. For an early tendency to substitute *b* for *p* in some words is amply attested, e.g., Acc. *parzillu*=Heb. and Phoenician ברזל; Acc. *dišpu*=Heb. דבש (with metathesis); Acc. *napištu*, Heb. נפש=נבש in the Aramaic of Zenjirli[5] and Soudschin.[6] In the

[1] P. 11.

[2] *Cf.* Knudtzon, *Amarna-Tafeln*, i, p. 48; Schmidtke, *Einwanderung Israels in Kanaan*, 1933, p. 43.

[3] *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, xiii, p. 38 n.

[4] Ibid. *Cf.* Jirku, *Der Alte Orient*, xxiv, 1924, No. 2, pp. 25 f.

[5] Hadad, 17, 21, 22 (Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, No. 61, p. 160). So also in the Phoenician inscription of Kilamu from the same locality, line 13 (Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* iii, 1909–15, p. 223).

Bb 21, 23 (Ronzevalle, *Mélanges de l'Université St.-Joseph*, xv, 1931, pp. 237 ff.).

Ras Shamra tablets we find some instances of this substitution of *b* for *p*, e.g., *bšn*=*serpent* (I D, 223 ; II D, vi. 14 ;[1] V AB, D 38)[2]=Heb. פתן (*cf.* Ar. بثن) ; *nbt*=*honey* (I K 72, 165)[3] =Heb. נפת.[4]

The new evidence in no sense bars the philological equation of Ḫabiru or Ḫapiru[5] with עברים, therefore, and that equation remains a possible hypothesis. It is to be noted, however, that if עברים=ʿ*prm*=*Ḫapiru*=ʿ*Aperu*, the common connection of עברים with the root עבר=*pass over* must be given up. Albright suggests[6] that it is to be connected with Epher (Gen. xxv, 4), and the same suggestion had already been made by Meek.[7]

It is to be observed, however, that while the equation Ḫapiru=עברים is still possible, it remains as uncertain as it has always been. The view that the Ḫabiru or Ḫapiru of the Amarna Letters represent one of the waves of Hebrew or Israelite immigrants does not rest merely on this equation, nor would it fall if the equation were definitely ruled out. The name that invaders give to themselves is not always the same as that by which they are known to those they attack, and if the disagreement were as great as that between German, Allemand and Deutsch, it would not necessarily prove a difference of reference.

The question is still difficult and involved, as it has always been, and we are still left with no clearer guidance than can be found in the patient investigation of the varied bits of

[1] Virolleaud, *La légende phénicienne de Danel*, 1936, pp. 182, 208.

[2] Virolleaud, *La déesse* ʿ*Anat*, 1938, p. 50.

[3] Virolleaud, *La légende de Keret*, 1936, pp. 38, 44; *cf.* p. 69.

[4] *Cf.* also *ḫpš* (I K 91), which Virolleaud (op. cit., p. 74) would connect with *ḫubši* of the Amarna Letters, of doubtful meaning (*cf.* Knudtzon, op. cit., ii, p. 1165).

[5] It is to be noted that in a Ras Shamra fragment Virolleaud had earlier found ʿ*brm*, which he identified with *Ḫabiri* (*cf. Syria* xv, 1934, p. 317 n., *La légende de Keret*, p. 74 n., and Jack, *The Ras Shamra Tablets*, 1935, p. 35). It is possible, therefore, that both *p* and *b* forms of this word are found at Ras Shamra.

[6] *B.A.S.O.R.*, No. 77, p. 33.

[7] *Hebrew Origins*, p. 11.

evidence, often apparently conflicting and difficult to piece together into a single consistent whole. The etymological argument remains one item of the evidence, but it cannot alone be decisive one way or the other. If lack of equation in the names could be proved, it would not prove that the Ḫabiru invasion had nothing to do with the settlement of Israel ; on the other hand, if complete equation were unchallenged, it would not prove that the Ḫabiru invasion is related to any of the events recorded in the Old Testament. Few scholars today, even of those who maintain the etymological equivalence, would identify the Ḫabiru with the Hebrews without more ado. It is probable that the Ḫabiru of the Amarna Letters formed but one wave of the Israelite immigration ; it is equally probable that the Ḫabiru of the ancient world included far more than the people we know as the Hebrews. The area of meaning of the terms Ḫabiru and Hebrews, whatever their etymological relation to one another, was not the same, and opinions will doubtless continue to differ as to how far they overlapped.

The new evidence, therefore, assuming, as seems likely, that it proves to be well founded, is welcome and important, but in no sense decisive against the common view. It would seem to be decisive against the view that Ḫabiru is connected with the root חבר, but it still leaves open the possibility that *Ḫapiru*=*ʿprm*=עברים. If, however, עברים=*ʿprm*, it cannot be connected with the root עבר, and the idea that *Hebrews* means *nomads* must be abandoned. On the other hand, if עברים be not etymologically connected with *ʿprm*, the same people may yet be represented by the names.

NEW LIGHT ON THE HABIRU-HEBREW QUESTION[1]

By J. W. Jack, M.A., D.D.

The question of the identity of the Habiru people continues to arouse such keen discussion, and the literature on it is becoming so voluminous, that one hesitates to enter the field of controversy. The discovery, however, by M. Virolleaud, of new material in the unpublished tablets from Ras Shamra-Ugarit, which throws further light on the whole question, must be the writer's apology for this article. Were the Habiru identical in some way with the Hebrews or Hebrew clans (the *'Ibrîm* of the Old Testament)? If so, was the term Habiru a racial one from the first, or did it only develop into this after the lapse of time, probably after the Conquest of Canaan? Those scholars who hold the latter view regard the Habiru as a mixed heterogeneous group belonging to different races, non-Semitic as well as Semitic, and consisting largely of slaves and others in menial occupations, so that the name was a mere appellative denoting a condition in life (such as "hostile foreigners," for instance), and nothing more. The term, they admit, came ultimately to be the ethnic name of the people whom we know as Hebrews, though this change, they say, did not take place till long after their entry into Canaan in the Amarna Age. It so happened, says the late Professor Edward Chiera, that the Palestine people "kept on calling them Habiru." Hence the name was "finally accepted by the invaders themselves, probably after the obloquy connected thereto had begun to wear off. Thus we probably have the first historical instance of a name, originally used in contempt, coming later to be accepted as an official designation."[2]

The writer of this article cannot bring himself to accept this

[1] The writer has avoided an excessive number of references, as these can easily be found in the numerous works on the subject.

[2] *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, XLIX (1932–3), p. 115. Quoted hereafter as *AJSL*.

latter view, all the more that in the Ras Shamra texts Virolleaud has now discovered certain equivalences proving that the Habiru and the *'Iprîm* (a form of *'Ibrîm*) were identical. In other words, the term Habiru, as far back as the fifteenth century, B.C., and no doubt much earlier, was a term designating the Hebrew people, and thus appears to have had a racial rather than a mere appellative connotation. On any other ground the situation of the whole Habiru-Hebrew question is utterly confusing and hopeless.

One or two facts may be mentioned here at the outset, for the sake of readers who may not be acquainted with the subject. The word Habiru (in Babylonian syllabic *Ḫa-bi-ru*), like the tribal names *Sûtû*, *Aḫlamû*, etc., is a proper noun of a collective nature (" The Habiru People "), with the nominative case ending. It occurs, for instance, in the masculine singular *Amêl* Ḫabirû, in the masculine plural *Amêlûti* Ḫabirû (feminine plural Ḫabirâtu), and in the genitive-accusative plural Ḫabirî. It has also a gentilic or adjectival form Ḫabirâ (Ḫabira-a), *i.e.* " Habiraean " or " Habirite," which occurs in two Akkadian documents, one of the twelfth century and the other of the eleventh century B.C. Since the discovery of the Amarna Letters in 1887, where mention of the Habiru occurs so often (though only in the letters from Jerusalem), the name has been found on tablets unearthed in numerous places from Elam in the east to the Taurus in the west, and dating from the twenty-first century down to the eleventh. The list of all its occurrences need not be detailed here. Our main purpose is to uphold the view that the word Habiru always represented the Hebrews, and was not a mere appellative, but had a racial connection from the first.

I. HABIRU='*IBRIM* (HEBREWS)

There is abundant evidence to show that Habiru is the equivalent, not merely philologically but historically, of *'Ibrî*, the gentilic noun and adjective (masculine plural *'Ibrîm*), denoting " Hebrew," " Hebrews." It is unnecessary here to refer to the philological equivalence, seeing that many eminent scholars have repeatedly demonstrated this. Indeed, if Habiru is not just another form of *'Ibrîm*, and a perfectly sound

phonetic equivalent of it, then no name has been found in Akkadian to designate the important Hebrew race. But as there can be no doubt at all about the word-equivalence, we pass on to consider it from the historical point of view, and it is here that the Ras Shamra tablets throw some light on the question. The evidence they afford may be best given in Virolleaud's own words :[1]

" Among the texts discovered at Ras Shamra (during the winter excavations of 1938–9) there are eleven lists of towns or villages, whose union formed the Kingdom of Ugarit. The names are about 90 in number, and many of them are given under the two forms, alphabetic and syllabic, the lists being drawn up some of them in the ' RS language ' and some in Akkadian. Thus, we have in Akkadian (and without any alphabetic equivalence) : *alu* ḫal-bi HAR.SAG ḫa-zi, *i.e.* ' the town of Ḫalbi, (that) of the mountain of Ḫazi,' while we have in alphabetic script (but without syllabic equivalence) : ḫlb ṣpn, ' the town of Ḫalbi, (that) of the north.' But we have also three other towns whose names figure both in the Akkadian and in the alphabetic lists. They are :

alu ḫalbi rap-ši=ḫlb rpś, *i.e.* ' Ḫalbi the great (or rather, the vast).'

alu ḫal-bi gar-ra=ḫlb krd, *i.e.* ' Ḫalbi of the hero (?).'

alu ḫal-bi *amêlûti* ŠAG(*sic !*)-GAZ=ḫlb 'prm."

Whether we have five different towns, all named Halbi, in the above references, or only one under different forms, is uncertain. The main point is that, in the last equivalence mentioned—which, Virolleaud states, occurs twice on the tablets—there was a town inhabited by the Sa-Gaz. The Boghaz-keui texts give us the equivalence Sa-Gaz=Habiru, and the Amarna Letters seem to do the same, but the former people are here distinctly identified with the '*Iprîm* (i.e. '*Ibrîm*), and it naturally follows that the Habiru and the '*Ibrîm* were identical, and this too as far back as 1400 or more B.C. In saying this, we are not of course limiting '*Ibrî*, '*Ibrîm* to the small section of the Hebrew race that went down to Egypt and figure in the Old Testament, but take the word in its wide sense as denoting all

[1] Extracted from a letter to the writer, of date 4th December, 1939, and translated from French.

the Hebrew clans, "the children of 'Eber," Gen x. 21 (cf. "the children of Lot" and "the children of Israel").

It is true, some scholars may take the view that the word *'Iprîm* (written here with 𐤐, the Ras Shamra *p*, instead of 𐤁 *b*) has no connection with *'Ibrîm* (the Hebrews). In this case it follows that the terms Sa-Gaz and Habiru have also no connection with them. Such a sweeping conclusion, we need hardly say, is not warranted by historical facts, and to accept it would be to give undue weight to the occurrence of *p* in place of *b* in the word here, especially when we remember that Semitic scribes were not particular in the use of voiced and unvoiced consonants, and frequently wrote the one for the other. It is necessary to discuss this important point here, as Virolleaud, in lecturing on the question before the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, on 30th June last,[1] expressed the view that the two words *'Iprîm* and *'Ibrîm* have no connection with each other :

"The new Ras Shamra documents," he said, "go to prove that the Khabiri, who are mentioned in the texts of the second millennium B.C., have nothing in common with the Hebrews. The translation, in fact, should be Khapiri, in conformity with the Egyptian transcription of the name ; and this simple fact puts an end to a controversy which has divided scholars for half a century."[2]

In his letter also to the writer, already referred to, he says, "I am of the belief that, if the reference had been to the Hebrews, the word would have been *'brm*, but as it is *'prm* I conclude that the second sign of "ha𐤐ru" (el-Amarna, etc.) should be read *pi* and not *bi*, as was frequently the case at that epoch and in preceding ones."

The writer regards this contention as quite unsound. The idea that the peoples designated under the terms Habiru (whether spelled with *p* or *b*) and *'Iprîm* "have nothing in common with the Hebrews" is contrary to all evidence, and is not likely to be accepted by other scholars. At present we are only concerned with the reading *'prm* in the above list of towns, and there is every reason to believe that this is just another

[1] *Comptes Rendus*, mai-juin, 1939, p. 329.

[2] Translated from *Comptes Rendus, ibid.*

form of *'brm*. There are quite satisfactory explanations for the *p* :

First, as already stated, it was quite a common thing for Semitic languages to confuse voiced and unvoiced explosives. The Babylonian, in particular, like the South German and Turkish, made little distinction between these consonants, so that *b*, *d*, *g* were constantly confused with *p*, *t*, *k*, after the manner of the Sumerian and Elamite. The commonest confusion of all was between the bi-labials *b* and *p*, and in writing even the best of scribes was sometimes careless with these two consonants, especially when dealing with borrowed words. The confusion is seen in the fact referred to by Virolleaud that the sign ⊏ in Babylonian could be read either *bi* or *pi*, but in the Amarna and earlier period was often intended for *pi*.[1] In fact, there was no distinct sign for *pi* at that early time, for ⊏ was nearly always to be read *wa*, *wi*, or *wu*, and only came to be reserved for *pi* later on. We can understand why, in the Amarna Letters, the Ras Shamra texts, and elsewhere, many Babylonian words appear with either consonant. Take the Amarna Letters alone, for instance. Among proper names there, we find such as the following :

> *Tešub*, *Tešupa* ; *Biḫura*, *Paḫura* ; *Biwari*, *Pawara* ; *Balummê*, *Pâlûma* ; *Ba'aluia*, *Pa'aluia*, and numerous others. Among ordinary words there is a large list, including *gabbu*, *gappu* ; *bakku*, *pakku* (a kind of stone work) ; *ṭâbu*, *ṭâpu* (" good ") ; *dubbu*, *duppu* (" tablet ") ; *ḫiliba*, *ḫilipa* (a kind of stone) ; *bitâtu*, *pidâtu* (" archers "); *lubaru*, *luparu* (a loin-cloth ?) ; *kabâšu*, *qapâšu* (" to tread upon ") ; *ḫaragabaš*, *ḫaragapaš* (meaning uncertain) ; *anṣabatu*, *anṣapatu* (meaning uncertain), and a host of others.

In these Letters, moreover, we find that many words which have *b* elsewhere are written there with *p*, such as Ḫeba which appears as Ḫepa ; Hebrew *shārab* (" to burn ") as *šarâpu* ; *barzel* (Hebrew and Ras Shamra, " iron "), which is written *parzillu* (Aramaean *parzel*). Taking all this into consideration, is it not likely that the *p* in *'Iprîm* simply indicates the usual

[1] Several examples are given in Thureau-Dangin's *Syllabaire accadien*, pp. 21, 33f.

confusion in the case of bi-labials ? It seems quite erroneous to maintain, as Virolleaud does, that, in the equation Sa-Gaz= *'Iprîm*, the latter term has no connection with *'Ibrîm* or the Hebrews. The word, it may be said, appears elsewhere in the tablets with the *b*. Thus, Virolleaud says, in reply to a query by the writer, " The *'brm*, to which I have referred in *Syria*, XV, p. 317, are found mentioned twice very clearly with 𒁀 (*b*) and not 𒉺 (*p*)."

Another explanation of the *p*, quite a satisfactory one also, may be given, and so far as we know may be the correct one. We have only to reflect that the Egyptian form of *'Ibrîm* has *p* instead of *b*, namely 'Apiru or 'Epiru, written *'prw* in Egyptian, and that Ugarit was largely under Egyptian control. That the 'Apiru were Hebrews is clear on many grounds. " There is no longer any doubt," says Professor E. A. Speiser, " about the correctness of identifying the Habiru with the Egyptian 'Apiru."[1] It is now " quite well agreed," says Professor T. J. Meek, " that the Egyptian word 'Apiru is the exact equivalent of the cuneiform Habiru and the Hebrew *'Ibrî*." [2] There are many examples of *p* taking the place in Egyptian of a Semitic or foreign *b*. Thus, we find :

> Hebrew and Arabic *ḥereb* (" sword "), Egyptian *ḥarpu* ; Hebrew and Canaanite *Dîbôn* (a place name), Egyptian *Tipuna* ; Hebrew *Debir* (a place name), Egyptian *Depir* ; Hebrew *Gebal* (cuneiform *Gubli*), late Egyptian *Kepan* ; Amarna *Ubi* (north of Damascus), Egyptian *Upi* ; Amarna *Manaḫbiria* (Thutmose III), Egyptian *Mn-ḫpr-R'* ; *grb* varying with *grp*, from an unknown foreign word of uncertain meaning ; Amarna gloss *ḫabši* (" arm "), Egyptian *ḫpš* ; *išbr* varying with *išpr* (" whip "), from an unknown foreign word [3] ; Hittite *Saḫbina*, Egyptian *Saḫipina* ; and probably several others.[4] It may also be mentioned that the Amarna word *ḫubši* (" peasants ") appears as *ḫpš* in the Ras Shamra texts.[5]

[1] *Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium, B.C.*, p. 37.

[2] *Hebrew Origins*, p. 10, with references there.

[3] Burchardt, *Die Altkanaanäischen Fremdworte*, II, p. 134.

[4] Cf. especially Heyes, *Bibel und Ägypten*, 1904, p. 148.

[5] Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, p. 261.

It is worth noting that, in most of these Egyptian cases, the *b*/*p* is associated with *r* or *l*, as in Habiru/'Apiru, and this adds weight to the view that in '*Ibrîm*, '*Iprîm*, where the same circumstance occurs, we have one and the same word. There are, of course, many cases where a foreign *b* in association with *r* or *l* still remains *b* in Egyptian, but the number of cases where it becomes *p* is certainly striking. It is noteworthy, too, that of the two words Habiru and '*Ibrîm*, it can only have been the latter that appeared in Egyptian with *p* ('*prw*), for there is no case known of an Egyptian ' representing a foreign *ḥ* or *ḫ*, and this fact adds further weight to the identification of '*Ibrîm* and '*Iprîm* in the Ras Shamra text.[1]

Under circumstances like these, it is not at all improbable that the Ras Shamra scribe, perhaps an Egyptian or at least trained in Egyptian culture, would be influenced by the Egyptian pronunciation of '*Ibrîm*, and thus spell it with a *p*. Ugarit, at the time of the Ras Shamra texts, was largely an Egyptian sphere of influence. In the colophon of I AB (see *Syria*, XV, p. 241), the high priest's name, *Atn-prln*, contains the component Aten, the name of the new deity installed by Amenophis IV. The town, in fact, was one of the coastal bases for the operations of Thutmose III and his immediate successors in their expeditions inland, and from a votive stele of the time of Amenophis II (*c.* 1447–1420 B.C.), found at Karnak, it appears to have had an Egyptian garrison during a large part of the fifteenth century.[2]

The writer is aware that some scholars who hold that Habiru and '*Ibrîm* are identical are nevertheless inclined to think that both terms should be written with a *p*, and they claim support from the fact that Akkadian *bi* and *pi* were written with the same sign and that a Midianite descendant of Abraham was named 'Eper (Gen. xxv. 4). Thus, Professor T. J. Meek, who upholds the Hebrew connection, says, " There is the possibility that the Egyptian represents the correct form of

[1] See Battiscombe Gunn, in Speiser, *Ethnic Movements, etc.*, p. 38, n. 93.

[2] H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, Le Caire, 1925, I, p. 110 ; W. Max Muller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 261.

the word, and that the Hebrew should be *'Iprî* and the cuneiform Hapiru."[1] Such scholars will no doubt take the reading *'Iprîm* in the Ras Shamra text as confirmation of their theory. Seeing, however, that they admit the Hebrew identity as against Virolleaud, their position does not affect our argument, except to strengthen it. At the same time, the present writer would take this opportunity of stating that he regards the form with *b* as the correct one, especially in light of the numerous references to the Habiru in other sources where the cuneiform reading *bi* is unmistakable. In the Hittite documents, for instance, Habiru clearly has *bi* (*Ḫabirijaš* or *Habiriêš*). J. Friedrich, in his translations of the Hittite treaties, quotes four examples of the " Habiru gods," and only once reads *p*, instead of *b*,[2] and that for no ascertainable reason, particularly as the sign in that passage is not preserved. Wiedner also, in translations of the god-list in three of the Hittite treaties, renders the word Habiru with *b*.[3] Add to this the fact, already stated, that *'Ibrîm* occurs twice in the Ras Shamra texts with unmistakable *b*, and that this form of the word found its way into Greek (Ἑβραῖος) including the Septuagint, and into all other languages. Referring to the form 'Apiru, Professor Speiser says, " The second consonant is ambiguous both in cuneiform and in Egyptian, but not so in Hebrew : since the latter has *b*, the labial must be read as voiced in cuneiform, while the voiceless correspondent in the Egyptian form of the name is to be ascribed to local developments."[4]

Thus, in view of the fresh light from the Ras Shamra texts, there seems to be decided historical proof at last that the Habiru were the Hebrews, a section of whom are so well known to us through the Old Testament. Between the Boghaz-keui and Ras Shamra evidence we now have the equivalence : Sa-Gaz=Habiru ('Apiru)='*Ibrîm* ('*Iprîm*)=Hebrews.

[1] *Hebrew Origins*, p. 10 ; cf. also Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, p. 206 ; *Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 77 (February, 1940), p. 32, *n.*

[2] *MVAeG*, Band 34 (1930), Heft 1, p. 220.

[3] J. W. Jack, *Date of the Exodus*, p. 273, Cols. (5), (6), (7) ; p. 191, n. 4.

[4] *Ethnic Movements, etc.*, p. 40.

II. HABIRU A RACIAL TERM

There is every probability that the term Habiru had a racial connotation from the first, as *'Ibrîm* appears to have had, and was not a mere appellative denoting some condition. The writer proposes to consider the objections to this view in the concluding part of this article, but meantime it is worth while looking at the positive evidence for it.

First, it is time scholars reconsidered the derivation of the name Habiru. The most plausible and reasonable explanation is that it comes from 'Eber (עֵבֶר, Gen. x. 21–25, xi. 14–17, I Chron. I. 18f), the reputed ancestor of the Hebrew race, for the word 'Eber, according to Semitic linguistics, undoubtedly goes back to an earlier form, 'Abir (*i.e.* Ḫabir, for Hebrew '=cuneiform Ḫ), just as *melek* (" king ") is known from Akkadian parallels to go back to *malik*. The form, in fact, with the vowels *a* and *i*, is the same as the Akkadian permansive perfect *qaṭil*, which has a strong hard accented *á* in the first syllable, with a weak *i* in the second (the latter vowel merely serving a segholate function), and is known to have been nominal or adjectival in origin.[1] When this form appears in proper names of the early period, we find the vowel *u* or *i* sometimes added at the end, as Šamaš-ḫaziru (or -ḫazir), Ili-ḫaziri (or -ḫazir).[2] We thus have the early form Ḫabir-u, which is therefore the exact equivalent of 'Eber (*i.e.* Ḫabir), and the Habiru stock must have been the children of this early ancestor. We have an instance of the same thing in the Hellenists or Greeks, who traced their descent from king Hellen. No other suitable derivation of the word can be found in Aramaean or Akkadian or elsewhere. Lewy has proposed the Assyrian root *ḫabâru*, " to invade,"[3] but this word is believed rather to be a pun on *ḫarâru*, " to dig," and there is little use discussing it.[4]

There is strong reason why we should regard 'Eber as an

[1] Cf. Bauer-Leander, *Grammatik*, 14, n. 3 ; Böhl, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer*, p. 85f ; G. R. Driver, *Problems of the Hebrew Verbal System*, pp. 45, 74f ; W. H. Worrell, *A Study of Races in the Ancient Near East*, p. 72 ; Speiser, *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, XIII, p. 40 ; Albright, *Archaeology*, p. 206f.

[2] G. R. Driver, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[3] *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, XXXVI, 26, n. 4.

[4] *Prince's Sumerian Lexicon*, p. 65, l. 31.

historical person. He is placed in the Hebrew list as the great-grandson of Shem through Arphaxad (Gen. x. 21, 25, xi. 14ff.). Ancient genealogies, no doubt, are very far from trustworthy, being often entirely mythical, and it is not impossible that some of the reputed ancestors in this list may be of this nature. Some of the names are known to be those of places or districts near the upper waters of the Euphrates and Tigris, and on this account they are taken by some scholars as simply representing a geographical sketch of the early movements of the Hebrew race. At the same time, let us not overlook the fact that the leading ancestors of the Hebrews may have left their names on these regions in which they must have lived and ruled, a result not uncommon in the case of the founders of clans or tribes. At all events, any attempts to explain away all these reputed ancestors brings in its train a host of difficulties ; and the probability that an individual of importance in Hebrew history named 'Eber really existed should not be lightly dismissed, even though we are not prepared to place much credit on some of the Biblical genealogies. If this be so, the derivation of Habiru from this leading ancestor (Ḫabir) is a much more reasonable explanation of the name than any other, and in this case it takes on a racial meaning from the beginning.

Second, in regard to the word *'Ibrî* (*'Ibrîm*), we know that, according to Semitic grammar, it is a relative noun, presupposing such a word as 'Eber, the name of the common ancestor, and like Habiru it is philologically identical with it. The *'Ibrîm*, like the Habiru, were thus the " children of 'Eber," the former name being probably the Canaanitish, West Semitic, or " Hebrew " form of writing it, and the latter the cuneiform (Akkadian).

Now, the name *'Ibrî* (*'Ibrîm*) was always used with a racial or ethnic meaning, whether confined to the Old Testament group or not. It is true, its use in several Old Testament passages may be anachronistic, but after all there is no proof of this. When Joseph said, " I was stolen out of the land of the Hebrews (*'Ibrîm*) " (Gen. xl. 15), this statement is supposed to have been added by a Redactor, but the name may quite well have been in existence at the time, and in such a case it must have had a racial meaning. Certainly, it could not have developed into an ethnic name without some strong basis for this.

Hence it is that, in the Old Testament (both E and J), we find it always used either by foreigners, such as Egyptians and Philistines, when referring to Hebrews (cf. *Hebraeasque terras* of Tacitus, *Hist.*, V, 2), or by the Hebrews themselves when addressing foreigners. In all cases there is a racial implication, with a contrast to others expressed or understood, just as in Jer. xxxiv. 9, 14, a Hebrew slave is contrasted with another of a different race. We have no reliable knowledge as to what branch of the Semitic family the *'Ibrîm* belonged, but there is little doubt they were closely related to the Aramaeans, and the Old Testament connects them with these Mesopotamian Semites. On solemn occasions, when Hebrews had to appear before Yahweh and recall their past, they were instructed to refer to their ancestor as a stray Aramaean (Deut. xxvi. 5). At all events, all down their history they were endowed with a sense of nationality to which there is perhaps no parallel in history. Always they figure as a racial stock by themselves, and the name *'Ibrîm* was never used except in this specific sense. " I am a *'Ibrî*," Jonah is stated to have said (i. 9), referring to his nationality.

Third, the other derivations, whether of Habiru or *'Ibrîm*, which have been proposed, are based on the erroneous idea that the name is a mere appellative. Sayce, Dhorme, and some others have suggested that Habiru comes from a West Semitic root, meaning " confederates " or " allies " (cf. Heb. חָבֵר, " an associate," " a companion "), or " captives," as Dhorme now takes it to be.[1] This, however, is precluded now by the Ras Shamra discovery, Sa-Gaz='*Iprîm*, as well as by the fact that Habiru is really a proper name, for it has a gentilic form Habirâ and is followed in one place in the Amarna Letters by the geographical sign *Ki* denoting country or place, and having a tribal or racial connotation (*Habiri*^{ki}, Mercer, No. 289, l. 24 ; cf. Sa-Gaz^{ki}, No. 215, l. 15, No. 289, l. 27). It is noteworthy, too, that the word *ib-ri-ia*, " my allies," occurs in one of the Letters, but without the initial *h* (Mercer, No. 26, l. 16), whereas Habiru always retains its *h*, so that there does not seem to be any connection between the words. Other scholars —whatever their views of Habiru may be—would explain

[1] *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 118, pp. 170–187.

'Ibrîm as denoting those who came from *'Eber han-nāhār* (Josh. xxiv. 2f. E), " the other side of the river," *i.e.* from Haran (Gen. xi. 31), the home of Abraham beyond the Euphrates, or possibly (supposing the name to be given in Canaan) from beyond the Jordan. But Margoliouth, Langdon, and others have put forward sufficiently convincing criticisms of this view, and we need not discuss it here. There remains one other theory which would trace the name to the Hebrew root *'Abar* (Akkadian *ebêru*), " to pass," " pass along," " wander," and the Septuagint adopts this idea in translating Abram " the Hebrew " (*'Ibrî*, Gen. xiv. 13) as ὁ περάτης (" the wanderer," " the emigrant," cf. Philo, I, 439). But the Septuagint rendering is explained by the fact that the translator probably took the Hebrew reading to be הָעֹבֵר, " the wanderer," instead of הָעִבְרִי, " the Hebrew." Besides, such an origin of the name is not specific enough, and logically would make it applicable to any body of people, of whatever race, who might adopt a roving life. There must have been multitudes of *'Ibrîm* who were not wanderers or emigrants, and certainly multitudes of the latter who were not *'Ibrîm*.

The most reasonable derivation, both of Habiru and *'Ibrîm*, is the one from 'Eber, the reputed ancestor, and this gives the name a racial signification (" all the children of 'Eber," Gen. x. 21). They were a people consisting of numerous kindred tribes, who had founded settlements for themselves along the Tigris and the Euphrates, while sections of them, in the person of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and other leaders moved along westward in successive waves into Palestine. No doubt, in course of time, their life-blood was fed from many sources, Babylonian, Amorite, Hurrian, Hittite, and others—as happens with all races—so that, as the ages rolled on, it contained various foreign elements. But all throughout their history there must have been a large purely Hebrew element, for among Semitic peoples the bond that holds the community or clan together is not any form of political organization : it is the feeling of consanguinity. For the ancient Semite, blood relationship was the only basis on which a stable society and absolutely binding duties could rest. For the same reason, whether the Hebrews (Habiru) were living in the desert or in

settled associations in cities, they were a community of worship, held together by common ancestral cults. That they had some kind of religious confederacy of their own is proved by the fact that their gods ("*ilâni Ḫabiri*") were invoked in the Hurrian-Hittite treaties. There was even a god "Habiru" (*ilu Ḫabiru*), in whom we may possibly see 'Eber, their great ancestor and representative.[1]

III. HABIRU NOT A MERE APPELLATIVE

It has been stated by some scholars, such as the late Edward Chiera, that the word Habiru was a mere appellative, used in a general sense without any special tribal or racial connotation, except some time after the Amarna Age, when the Hebrews had become settled in Palestine and adopted the name for themselves. The main reason assigned for this view is that the Habiru previously, as known from their personal names, cannot be identified with any special ethnical group. Taking the Habiru names (those described as such) found in large number on the tablets from ancient Nuzi (a centre of the Hurrians midway between Baghdad and Mosul), which cover a period of more than a century and can be dated from a letter of Shauššatar (*c.* 1430 B.C.), king of Mitanni, found among the lot, Chiera draws attention to the fact that the purely Semitic ones among them do not average more than ten per cent.[2] He states that many of the Habiru names, like the others, are very imperfectly spelt and are practically unrecognizable, but he gives specimens of some of the more legible ones, such as *Arad-kubi* (from the land of Aššur), *Mâri-ištar* (from the land of Inzâlti), *Mâri-itîglât* (from the land of Aššur), *Arad-tašmetum* (from the land of Inzâlti), *Ištar-aḫât* (a woman from Akkad), *Aḫatiia* (ditto), and others which appear to be Hurrian, Akkadian, Amorite, or of other foreign origin.[3] All the

[1] Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, No. 42, Col. II, 9; Sayce, *Expository Times*, XXXIII, p. 43; Jirku, "*Der Stammesgott der Habiru-Hebräer*" (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, November, 1921).

[2] *AJSL*, XLIX (1932–3), p. 117.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

tablets, he states, from which the names have been taken are slave contracts, and the social status of these Habiru was that of slaves bound to Nuzi owners (the word Habiru, it may be said, also occurs in four lists with no personal names along with with it : " the Habiru ").

While not doubting Professor Chiera's recognition of Semitic names, it is worth while remembering that many uncouth and archaic expressions may be derived from Hebrew roots. They may not occur in Hebrew, as presently known to us, but, as G. R. Driver says, " What modern and often foreign scholar has the right to say that this and that cannot have existed ? The pages of learned publications are strewn with the unfortunate results of an unimaginative and injudicious resort to the concordance."[1] With this safeguard, too often neglected, we must admit that many of the Habiru names mentioned by Chiera certainly have a foreign or non-Semitic appearance and meaning. There is, however, quite a satisfactory explanation of this. If it was a common procedure, as we know it was, for Hurrians to call their sons by Akkadian names (a condition which prevailed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries B.C., the date of the Nuzi tablets),[2] it was just as common for Hebrews in a foreign land to adopt native names, whether they were slaves or not. This happened, indeed, more than once sometimes, in the course of life, as a result of change of condition or of unforeseen circumstances. There are numerous instances of this. P. Dhorme, discussing the matter,[3] shows that, according to the letters and contracts of the First Babylonian Dynasty (*c.* 2169–1870 B.C.),[4] it was a common thing, under the pressure of circumstances (" sous l'influence du milieu ") for foreign Semites in Babylonia to give native names to their family. For example, *Ḫâbdûm* (hypocoristic form is Hebrew עבד) gave his son the name *Ilu-šu-a-bu-šu* (" His god is his father "), while *Abi-erach* (from Hebrew ירח, " moon ") had a son named *E-bàr-bàr-ra-lu-mur* (" Let me see the temple

[1] *Problems of the Hebrew Verbal System*, p. 152.

[2] Speiser, *Ethnic Movements, etc.*, p. 28.

[3] *Revue Biblique*, avril, 1928, p. 162.

[4] Langdon's date, based on the Oxford Prism.

bar-bar "). Dhorme points out, too, that many Canaanites and Arabs adopted Babylonian names from the day they settled in that country. C. J. Gadd, referring to foreign slaves in Babylonia during the Third Dynasty, who had been brought probably from the North Syrian desert, states that many of these took Sumerian or Akkadian names which had been assumed for convenience. " Usually they have not distinctive names," he says, " but have adopted those of the country, either Sumerian or Akkadian, of the mixed but united population among whom they worked."[1] The custom, in fact, was a common one, not only among slaves but among all classes of people. Several instances of it are found in the legends of the patriarchs (cf. Gen. xxxii. 28 J, xvii. 5, 15, Num. xiii. 16 P), and there are two instances of the names of kings of Judah being changed by the Babylonian conqueror (Kings xxiii. 34, xxiv. 17). During the exilic period we find many Hebrews with Babylonian names, such as Zerubbābel (" seed of Babylon "), Sheshbazzar, Sharezer, Bilshan (=Babylonian *Belshun*), Nekōda (=Babylonian *Niḳudu*, a kind of bird), Barkōs (ancestor of certain Nethinim who returned with Zerubbābel), Mordecai (from god Marduk), and others. Cf. also Belteshazzar, Shadrach, Meshach, Abed-nego (Dan. i. 6ff). Such names let us see how readily people of Hebrew race conformed to foreign custom in such a matter, as in other externals, while rigidly preserving their national character. We have abundant instances of the same thing among the Hebrews while in Egypt. Cf. Joseph's assumed name, Zaphenath-paneaḥ ; and we know that many of the Levites took Egyptian names, such as Moses, Phinehas (" this negro "), Hophni, Hur (from Horus), Pashur (a name compounded with Horus), Assir, Putiel, Merari, and perhaps also Aaron. The Hyksos, too, adopted Egyptian names (such as Apepi, etc.) during their residence in Egypt. How many Jews at the present day in English-speaking countries have Semitic names ? A large number of them are Anglo-Saxon, German, Polish, or other non-Semitic ones, having been adopted for convenience, according to the *milieu*.

All this clearly proves that the name is often no criterion by

[1] *History and Monuments of Ur*, p. 143.

which to judge tribal or racial connection. Not only did people frequently change their names, but were often known by different names. These Habiru slaves at Nuzi had probably been captured in war from neighbouring countries where they had already assumed native names, or they may have been led to adopt them by their owners in Nuzi. At all events, it would surely not be strange, but rather a natural thing, to find many of them with foreign or Hurrian names. So far as this question is concerned, the writer sees no objection to their racial identification with the Hebrews.

A second reason put forward by certain scholars for regarding the term Habiru as a mere appellative is that these people at Nuzi, and indeed elsewhere (so we are assured), held degrading servile occupations, in the status of slaves or serfs, and consequently the term must originally have been a derogatory disparaging appellation, a mark of inferiority denoting bondage and debasement. In short, it is said, it was just " a mock name that ridiculed its bearers," and had nothing to do with race.[1] " Wherever used," says Professor T. J. Meek, " Habiru is a term of reproach . . . It was like the name Christian given to the early followers of Jesus or the epithet ' cynic ' hurled in derision at Antisthenes and his followers . . . Among the peaceful-living Hurrians at Nuzi and Arrapḫa, they had to sell themselves into virtual slavery in order to get a living, either to private individuals or to the government." [2] It was only, we are told, after the Hebrews had invaded Palestine during the Amarna Age that they accepted the name Habiru and made it their own.[3]

According to this theory, the name Habiru—and even its Hebrew equivalent '*Ibrîm*—previous to the Hebrew Conquest of Canaan, had no more racial signification than the word " alien " or " immigrant." In this connection, however, it is worth stating at the outset that there is considerable doubt as to whether these Habiru at Nuzi were actually slaves. Julius Lewy has advanced cogent reasons against this assumption.[4]

[1] Rabbi Herbert Parzen in *AJSL*, XLIX (1932–3), p. 256.

[2] *Hebrew Origins*, p. 9f.

[3] Chiera, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

[4] *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XIV (1939), pp. 587ff.

He has given good proof that the expression (in the contract tablets) *ana wardūti*, which Chiera and Speiser translate " as a slave," may equally well be rendered " as a servant " (literally " for servantship "), and has shown that the former interpretation is precluded in the majority of the Habiru texts by certain additional clauses found in other documents. Unfortunately, the texts are absolutely silent as to the nature of the work performed by the Habiru, but the contracts, Lewy holds, were simply " a kind of labour agreements "—like the *titennūtu* texts—between the employer Teḫiptilla (who appears to have been Mitanno-Hurrian administrator in Nuzi) and artisans or skilled employees (such as carpenters, weavers, foreign interpreters, etc.). They were free men and women, he believes, who had left their native countries, in order to take service in the house of Teḫiptilla.[1]

The writer must admit, in spite of Lewy's view, that many of these people seem to have been actual slaves, forced to undertake menial or even degrading occupations. But assuming this to be their position, does this prove that they did not belong to the Hebrew race ? " According to me," says Chiera, " they were war prisoners who were distributed to the state, the palace, or to leading citizens as part of the war booty." They included women and children, and many of them belonged, we find, to special professions, such as that of the scribe and were by no means nomads. It may be that some of them voluntarily sold themselves into permanent servitude, seeing that they had been captured with this object in view, but the " voluntariness " must have had a large element of compulsion, for they knew that slavery was their only means of existence. They or their parents had probably been captured when the Mitannians seized the Nuzi-Arrapḫa region, or had been taken in Hurrian raids on surrounding lands (Ashur, Akkad, etc.) and driven in bonds to Nuzi to enter into slavery there. But surely this affords no evidence that the name Habiru in itself was a degrading servile appellation and a mark of inferiority, and still less that it had no racial meaning. Besides, there were multitudes of Habiru living in large communities between the Tigris and Euphrates, and westward in Syria, who were not in

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 607.

servitude to the Hurrians or any other state. We know that there were intimate cultural contacts between the Habiru and the Hurrians (as shown by Hurrian laws and customs in the patriarchal legends of the Old Testament), and it is not possible that these could have arisen from a mere slave basis. In Babylonia we find they had officers of their own, just as the Amorites had,[1] and this does not accord with a slave condition. Many certainly took service as mercenary soldiers (cf. the French " Légion étrangère ") with various states, and for many centuries they had acted as such among the Babylonians, Hittites, Mitannians, and Amorites. The Sa-Gaz (=*ḫabbatu*, " fighter," " plunderer "), who invaded Canaan from the desert on the east, as described in the Amarna Letters, were of this warlike type. They were soldiers of fortune, fond of adventure and brigandage, and accustomed to thrive on war. At the same time, there were without the least doubt countless numbers of Habiru who were traders, smiths, sheep farmers, scribes, or engaged in other settled and peaceful occupations of their own, some of them in cities along the Euphrates and elsewhere (cf. *Ḥalbi* in Virolleaud's letter, also the Mari and other tablets). Forrer even holds that the Semitic merchants of the Cappadocian tablets were Habiru.[2] But whether freebooters or traders, the fact that groups of them had been taken by force and enslaved in Nuzi and other regions furnishes no support for the idea that the word Habiru is merely an appellative without racial signification. The same is true of the word 'Aperu (*'prw*), which is believed to be its Egyptian equivalent, for these foreigners in the Egyptian service, in the status of slaves or serfs doing heavy labour along with mercenaries in the quarries and elsewhere, seem to have been Habiru captured in raids in Palestine and Syria, and brought to Egypt to labour. Why should such a condition be supposed to show that they were not of the Hebrew race ?

Still another reason advanced against the racial connotation of Habiru is that the word cannot be identified with any one special ethnical group, but appears to be used regardless of race

[1] Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, No. 26, l. 8 ; Forrer, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I. 447.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 235.

or colour. Indeed, the Habiru at Nuzi and even elsewhere, we are told, consisted of mixed nationalities, *i.e.* some of them might be Assyrian, some Amorite, some Aramaean, and some Beduin. The ethnical relation was not the point : the Habiru were rather any or all of these people treated as a group. Some scholars regard the Egyptian 'Aperu in the same light. " Any foreigners," says Professor John A. Wilson, " with whom the Egyptians were in hostile relations might become Habiru . . . These might be Asiatics or Sea Peoples or Libyans or negroes."[1]

This theory has been mainly drawn from the presence of names of different nationalities among the Habiru at Nuzi, but such a conclusion, as we have shown above, can have no reasonable basis. We admit that the Hebrews, in the course of their development through the ages, were subject to considerable racial admixture. The original stock seems to have been Aramaean (Deut. xxvi. 5), but later on they included a large element of the Hurrian or Hittite type, and they also absorbed much Canaanite-Amorite blood less pure than their own. Ultimately, therefore, their ethnic composition must have been to some extent conglomerate. These are vicissitudes that occur in the history of all races when they come into contact with others, and in this respect the Hebrews by no means stand alone. But after all, this is not the question at issue here. The scholars referred to, in regarding the Habiru as consisting of mixed nationalities, are not alluding to the mixture due to ordinary racial development, but to people of various races, whether Semitic or non-Semitic, united in one group, as it were, and often acting together as hostile foreigners against settled states, even as far back as the second millennium B.C., and dubbed by others with the name Habiru, the meaning of which would simply be, according to Chiera, " foreigners who were also enemies," or according to J. Lewy " foreign servants."

This conception, however, is very far from being applicable to the situation. No doubt the Habiru at Nuzi, if we judge solely from their personal names, cannot be identified with any special racial stock, such as the Hebrews, but, as we have seen, names given to Semites in a foreign land, or adopted by them,

[1] *AJSL*, XLIX (1932–3), p. 275.

form no basis for such a conclusion. In spite of their names the Habiru at Nuzi may all have been Hebrews. Even Lewy says, " It is manifest that the group of foreigners who placed their services at the command of the Mitannian government were sometimes at least related by blood-ties."[2] Still less does the conception of these scholars apply to the Habiru located in cities and settled communities, for these people, living together in their own centres, and having some form of organization, could not have been promiscuous associations of different races and languages, nor could they have been confederations of " foreign servants," as Lewy imagines, who were " willing to place their services at the disposal of the country into which they had emigrated."[1] Further, one has only to apply the conception to the Habiru invasion of Palestine in the Amarna Age to see its erroneousness. The scholars who put it forward state that these invaders afterwards developed into " Hebrews," adopting for themselves the term Habiru which had been applied to them in reproach. " The name," says Professor T. J. Meek, " began as an appellative with no ethnic connotation whatsoever, but it ended as a gentilic, and then specifically as the ethnic name of a group of people whom we know as Hebrews."[3] But if these invaders consisted of a motley multitude of different races, a mixed horde of robbers, outlaws, and adventurers from various surrounding nations, how did they come afterwards to be one race only, the Hebrews, held together by a genuine and operative feeling of kinship and blood-relationship ? How is it that such a " band of adventurers " and fugitives from justice (as they are stated by these scholars to have been) developed a clear ethnic consciousness, and became so easily united in a political and social unit ? Just after the invasion, the ark seems to have been set up at Bethel (Jud. ii. 1, where Bethel should be read for Bochim), a covenant was made, a simple code of laws was promulgated, and an organized state of some kind established, after the pattern of the Canaanitish ones. Thus, a heterogeneous diversified horde,

[1] *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XIV, p. 606.

[2] *Hebrew Origins*, p. 13.

[3] Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 604.

belonging to various nationalities, coalesced by-and-bye, probably in a short time, into one united harmonious whole! From being a mixed lot of different races, they speedily became one and the same race. This is surely the most extraordinary transformation in history. Besides, how could these invaders, with their methods of violence and subjugation, possibly be " foreign servants " welcomed by the rulers of Canaan and willing to serve them? This whole theory, moreover, is most improbable now that we know from the Ras Shamra texts that the name *'Ibrîm*, a racial term, was in existence at this very time and probably long before it. How in such a case could it develop some ages after the Conquest from the supposed appellative Habiru, as Professor Speiser suggests?[1]

The fact is—and there seems abundant proof for it—any difference that existed among the invaders was only between the Israelites in the north and others in the south. The former, according to their own traditions, were descended from an Aramaean branch of the Hebrew family which had made a separate migration westward, and thus they claimed an independent history, so that, even as late as the time of David, a distinction existed between Israelite and non-Israelite Hebrews; but otherwise the invaders were clearly of one body and one race (Habiru, *'Ibrîm*, Hebrews) at the time of their entry into the land. They had been without a country of their own (" heimatlos," as Landsberger describes them) till then, strangers and foreigners in all lands, but not without actual blood-kinship, " the children of 'Eber."

[1] *Ethnic Movements, etc.*, p. 41f.

THE TELL EL-AMARNA TABLETS

A Review

By C. J. Gadd

The Tell el-Amarna Tablets, edited by Samuel A. B. Mercer; two volumes, 1939. (Toronto, The Macmillan Company of Canada, Ltd.).

"In spite of all the research which has been expended on them during the past half-century" (writes a well-known scholar in a recent article[1]), "the Tell el-Amarnah Tablets have by no means yielded up all their secrets." Later he adds "there has been no serious published effort to advance the philological interpretation of the documents as a whole during the past twenty years," and he goes on to indicate the direction in which research has seemed to him at once most requisite and most productive. Nobody using the standard edition of these letters can doubt, after studying a few pages, how acutely they suffer from that neglect which, in the present spate of fresh discovery, is the inevitable doom of cuneiform texts, once published and despoiled of their first trophies. But now, for the Amarnah letters, we are presented, not with a mere collection of studies, but with a completely new edition of the whole, in these two well-printed volumes. Here, then, should be the *amende honorable* for any recent want of attention to a group of documents which may claim, not absurdly, to be the most interesting as yet bequeathed to us by ancient Western Asia. And it should not pass unobserved that the appearance of this work is due to the enlightened generosity of three private gentlemen, to whom readers must feel the same gratitude as the author has expressed.

Professor Mercer is admirably liberal in his allusions to the

[1] W. F. Albright, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1937, p. 190.

long-established edition of Knudtzon and his collaborators,[1] and frankly informs us that he expects it to be used side by side with his own, very justly concluding that it would be an inexcusable waste to reiterate even the substance of the notes in Knudtzon's Zweiter Teil, or matter about which there can be no difference. His own notes are consequently much shorter, and confined to the foot of the page ; their purpose is to present fresh material and results of recent studies, but they include what may seem superfluous, brief summaries of the contents of each letter. By far the greatest part of the two volumes is occupied by the transcriptions and translations of the letters, and about a hundred pages at the end are devoted to (1) nine *excursus* upon the nations which are the principal characters in this political drama, (2) a select glossary, and (3) the usual indexes of names, a register of tablets, and a map of the countries and places mentioned. It will be convenient to examine this supplementary matter first.

The *excursus*, so far as they summarize what is related about their subjects in the letters, are useful, but in most of them there is visible an uncertainty of purpose ; it is desired to give (in addition to the references in the letters) some general account of the lands in question, and of the information we now possess about them, as well as the opinions of modern scholars upon various questions connected with them. The result is not satisfactory, for the general reader is introduced to questions which hardly interest him, and the scholar cannot expect much to his purpose in such jejune notices. Their matter, too, is often seriously out of date, as though they had been written long ago and never properly revised. No. III, on Mitanni, is an example of this ; statements which would no longer be accepted[2] are based upon quotations of more or less obsolete

[1] In one particular at least it could be wished that he had been less influenced by his predecessor. I refer to his persistent retention of the German j, which lends a slightly grotesque appearance to every page. It is quite out of place in an English book to be presented with names like Arzawija, Zitrijara, Jašdata, and verbal forms such as *jienninunumi*, *juwašira*.

[2] " The Hittite bilingual of Tarkudimme mentions a king of the city Metan " ; " Mitannian the oldest indigenous language of Mesopotamia, and one very similar to Hittite " ; " the many Mitannian proper names . . . appear to be Aryan " (it depends partly on what is meant by Mitannian, but in the sense of the paragraph which contains these words the statements are quite erroneous).

literature, speculative even in its day, and the introduction of two or three more recent works in footnotes only puts on a piece of new cloth with parabolical effect. Moreover, it would obviously have been desirable at least to co-ordinate this *excursus* with No. VIII, on the Hurrians, by Dr. Hallock ; indeed, the two subjects cannot properly be separated. No. V, on the Hittites, is even less happy. After a pardonable confusion about the identity of " William Wright of Cambridge " a more dangerous confusion is at any rate risked in the same paragraph by appearing to group together the cuneiform and hieroglyphic inscriptions as " Hittite texts " simply ; Professor Mercer is doubtless in no uncertainty himself about the inadmissibility of this generalization, but it is unfortunate even to give such an idea. The following page (830) is again occupied by too many speculations of scholars belonging to the last generation. What we read here of the " five groups " of the Hittites, their origins, history, and geography, is nearly all of this unsubstantial character, and some definitely wrong, whereas nobody would gain the least inkling that modern scholarship has at its command a large body of detailed knowledge on these subjects. We then find the familiar Uššpia and Kikia described as Hittite names, and the Hyksos as a people of the western portion of a Hittite empire. Even the short account of the later Hittite empire strangely omits to mention its destruction at the end of the thirteenth century, and makes it endure until Sargon II of Assyria. The two following paragraphs, on the language and religion, are partly in error, and wholly inadequate. By contrast, and at the risk of being invidious, *excursus* VII on the Ḫabiru (by Dr. F. H. Hallock) must be praised as an able *résumé* in a remarkably small space of the essential evidence and the most weighty opinions upon a question which is still discussed.

The Glossary, " for reasons of economy and space," as the introductory note says, presents only a selection of the words found in the letters. It is consequently much less full than Ebeling's (*ap.* Knudtzon), and it is undeniably tiresome to be unable to find in the Glossary the occurrences of many a word that has attracted the reader's attention in the text ; one cannot but feel that these omissions so greatly detract from the value of the section that it would have been better to sacrifice some-

thing else. Of course, the missing entries may be found in Ebeling, but one cannot have two books in hand at once. Unfortunately the shortcomings of the Glossary are not confined to what it does not contain. There is, first, in several cases a complete lack of references, particularly with words printed in heavy type as Canaanite ; one finds often a Hebrew word compared, but without meaning or without references. Examples of this unhelpful peculiarity are *aḫrunu*, *zukini* (and several following words), *lelu*, *muṣu* (an Akkadian word, here translated " setting " (!), without references), and *šamama*. Another disappointment is to encounter blank cross references, such as " *gêzu*, see *qezu*," " *zîru*, see *sîru*," " *laqaḫu* . . . see *laqâḫu* " (a curious entry)—in none of these cases can the reader see what he is invited to look for, unless, of course, he turn to Ebeling or Muss-Arnolt. I have observed several inconsistencies between the Glossary and the text which argue faulty revision : Glossary, *kamratu*, mourning ?, whereas the text of 28^{20} (the reference given) reads *ga-am-ra-ti-im-ma*, which is translated " (not) at all " ; Glossary, *Ku. A* mouth ?, but text *Ka* + *U* ; Glossary, *pû*, here ?, but text, *p*[*u*]-*u en-ni-ip-ša*, translated " it has united ? " Last, there are intestine differences in the Glossary itself, e.g. *aḫrišu* " from *ḫarašu* to till," " *ḫarâš* to mourn ? *aḫ-ri-šu*," etc., and a double confusion over an alleged word *naggu* ?—lower, on the same page, is found " *niknaggu*, *niknakku*, see *naggu*," and in 22, IV, 29 (the reference quoted) is " *I Gar na-ag-gu*," so that we have still not reached the familiar cult-object *niqnaqqu*. Apart from inconsistencies there are certain deficiencies or errors ; the following have been noted, " *aḫlu*, a kind of stone," whereas in all cases the context shows that it is the *aḫ*(*u*)*lapakku*-stone ; *anṣabatum* are ear-rings : *dalaḫu*, to hasten, is adopted from Ebeling, but in the translation of the passages quoted Knudtzon's " condole " has not been emended : " *mindadu*, *mindidu* knife, a measure ? " is so odd an entry that one consults Ebeling's Glossary, to find that he translates " Messer, Zumesser ? " Professor Mercer has really been less than fortunate here ! There is no word " *nabi*-times," this being merely the end of a Sumerian writing [*min*]-*na-bi*. The supplementary list of Egyptian words follows in the main that of Knudtzon's edition, with a few additions from later publications, but it is not clear

why not all of the Egyptian words from No. 355*a* have been included ; *ḫalzuḫlu* should be in the " Mitannian "[1] list, and *nanzidu* (i.e. *namzitu*) is Akkadian.

The bulk of these two volumes is, of course, occupied by the text of the letters themselves, which must now be examined within the narrow limits imposed by regard for space. The first general observation to be made is that Professor Mercer has abandoned the typographical devices by which Knudtzon strove to attain fidelity in his transcription, and to indicate the degrees of confidence with which he put forward his translations. Dividing lines, oblique marks before glosses, most of the textual footnotes, and above all italics on both left and right hand pages are all gone. The result is certainly a more pleasing appearance, and it may be granted that some cumber has been swept away, but the result is undeniably a serious loss of exactitude, and a corresponding hindrance to the student, who is obliged, once again, to refer back to Knudtzon as soon as a difficulty arises. In the translations the sacrifice of italics as a means of distinguishing the provisional is particularly unsound for Mercer's version does, in fact, follow Knudtzon's very closely in the great majority of cases, and numerous passages are thus elevated to an equal degree of apparent certainty with their surroundings when they have no such status in actuality, and when nothing has since been discovered to confer upon them a greater authority than Knudtzon was content to claim.

The advantages which time has conferred upon a fresh edition are set out in the Preface to this work. What amount of originality, in addition to these, is displayed by Mercer's translations is not easy to estimate, but it appears to be little. As already remarked, they are, wherever consulted, generally found to follow their predecessor closely, even in passages where Knudtzon himself was quite conscious that his renderings were unsatisfactory. As a test of this and other qualities, in the following paragraphs a few passages have been selected for comment, mostly by the empirical method of reading Mercer's translation and stopping to examine certain sentences which appeared to give some peculiar or inadequate sense and

[1] The author seems not to be acquainted with the article of Bork in the *O.L.Z.*, 1932, col. 377 ff., which proposes interpretations for several of the " Mitannian " glosses.

thus arrested the attention : No. 9, ll. 31, 32, " Now the Assyrians, subjects of mine, have I not written to thee *ki-i ṭi-mi-šu-nu*, how their mind is "—not, as Mercer, " So is the situation," differing from Knudtzon, whose own version is hardly correct—" If thou lovest me, let them accomplish nought of their purpose " ; all of this, and the following line too, are less satisfactory in M(ercer) than in K(nudtzon). No. 10, ll. 16, 17, " I have nothing valuable, and (therefore) I am of no value to thee," i.e. your parsimony is the measure of your esteem for me, a sarcastic reproach, the point of which is more blunted by M. than by K. No. 16, ll. 29–31, M. translates " [Now], the going and the returning by means of my messengers is not enough," wherein he practically follows K. In reality the passage is much more to the point—" (You sent me very little gold), it does not suffice even to pay the hire of my messengers out and home." Page 64, in the footnote on l. 33, it is still a question whether the Vannic inscriptions may properly be named Chaldian or not, but nobody has hitherto, I believe, called them Chaldaean. No. 24 is the celebrated Ḫurrian letter, and here M. has boldly decided to offer a translation, that of Bork published in 1909 (he could not, of course, use Bork's new version, which appeared only last year). But this obscure language, which is now beginning to be exemplified from several other sources, is still in its earlier stages of revelation, and there is probably no other scholar who would yet venture to translate Tušratta's " masterpiece." The two " Arzawa letters," Nos. 31 and 32, also appear with translations, introduced by footnotes (on pp. 182, 183, and 188), which characterize the language as " Hittite, Mitannian (or Hurrian), or Luvian " ; which is really not good enough for 1939, when these languages or dialects are well known to be entirely distinct.

To continue with a few more passages, necessarily taken at random, as a means of estimating the worth of this new version : No. 26, ll. 47 and 56, forms of *ataru* translated " share with me " (which is not the meaning of K.'s " mir zu teil werden lassen "), whereas the context plainly requires the normal sense of " exceed (in liberality) to me " ; No. 28, ll. 22, 23, M. renders " What have the messengers not observed? They flee and arrive." This is simply unmeaning ; it is based

upon K., whose " fliegen " it mistranslates. But in fact there is nothing here about " observing " (what should they observe ?) The line is, of course, to be rendered " they are not birds, to fly away and go "—there is no need to restrain them *danniš danniš*. In No. 73, ll. 14–16, *u-ul ti-i-di mat A-mur-ri i-nu-ma a-šar da-an-ni ti-la-ku-na*, M. chooses to translate " dost thou not know of the land of Amurri that it is an abode of mighty men ? " How this is obtained, or why in this instance he departed from K.'s far superior version, are questions equally obscure. No. 99, l. 17, " that the King thy lord may say unto thee ' that (woman) is beautiful ' " is very rightly restored in place of K.'s forced attempt, but M. might have extended his comparison with No. 31*a* to the last two lines of No. 99, which he has misunderstood more gravely than K. On the same page No. 100, l. 4 *amelut šišetiši* appears as " the people of its inheritance " without any apparent justification, and at variance, it may be noted, with the vocabulary which gives " *šišetu* sprout ? But perhaps Egyptian *šs* scribe." No. 114, l. 16 " Iapa-Addi has united with Aziru my enemy "—true, it comes to the same thing, but formally this is quite wrong where K. was right. In the remarkable letter No. 147 M. has not been very happy with Abi-milki's poetical effusions ; Albright has recently offered a new translation of these, which achieves an acceptable sense even if at the cost of some violence. Knowing this (for he quotes it) M. has adhered to some old perplexities, especially the reading *i-za-mur* in ll. 10 and 21, which engenders the strange phrase " to the servant that mourns his breath," as little intelligible as the passage immediately following, rendered " (But) no breath returns (*i-za-ḫar*), so I am mindful of the words of my fathers." No. 153, l. 9, " besteigen lassen " (K.) does not mean " permitted to board." No. 162, l. 2, the true restoration is uncertain ; M. differs from K., as he is entitled, but he does not translate what he restores ! In ll. 12, 13 M. quite unjustifiably inverts the positions of the refugee and the city-headmen, as also in l. 16, where the king expected the refugee to be sent into, not from, his presence. Nos. 174–176*a* are all letters of the same purport, accusing Etakama of having deserted to the Hittites, but in the first three M. makes him go " against " the Hittites in the last " at the head of " them—the last is, of course,

correct ; the phrase (*ana pani*) is the same throughout. No. 252 is a very obscure letter, and K.'s uncertainty is plainly shown by the gaps and italics of his translation. In contrast M. provides a complete version, qualified by a solitary question-mark. Yet it will be found that he follows K. closely, merely suppressing the doubts and filling the gaps, regardless that much of it is evidently wrong or even impossible—*nukurtu* is not " treachery " but " war," *namlu tumḫazu*, whatever it may mean in fact, certainly cannot mean " the agreement (?) was broken," and the translation of the last half-dozen lines seems to have little contact with the text. No. 273, ll. 11–14, *gamrat mât šarri . . . ina amelutu SA. GAZ. MEŠ* ; K. " dahin ist das Land des Königs . . . zu den Sa. Gaz-Leuten," M. " the land of the king. . . belongs to the *Sa. Gaz*-people," which is not a translation either of the German or of the Babylonian. No. 289, ll. 16, 17, cannot mean, as M. renders them " how is it that Ḫazati is at the disposal of the king ? " Such a question is inconceivable, and K.'s paraphrase, unsatisfactory as it is, gives a more acceptable sense. Lines 21 ff. of the same letter must surely mean " and indeed we did it after Labaya had surrendered also the land of Sichem to the Hebrews " ; K. and, following him, M. are both at fault here. No. 317, ll. 22–25, " I have hearkened full well, and indeed verily (*šumma la*) I have hearkened to the headman, and he knows it." K.'s " ob ich nicht gehört habe " saves the situation, but M.'s " if I have not hearkened to the regent he knows it " is another matter.

Here these observations, already too far prolonged, must come to an end. In Professor Mercer's volumes we find some new material and some notes of more recent studies. It has doubtless been our misfortune to have found less often the places in which he has improved upon his predecessor than those in which it was necessary to refer back to that predecessor not only for fuller information, but even for greater correctness. Such an experience gives great disappointment. It is vexing indeed that, where so much is waiting to be done, hardly anything of it has been done with all the work and expense which have gone into the making of this well-intentioned but not very helpful book.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Development of the Canaanite Dialects. By Z. S. Harris. (American Oriental Series, vol. 16.) pp. x, 108. American Oriental Society, New Haven, Conn., 1939. Price $2.50.

Dr. Harris has followed up his *Grammar of the Phoenician Language* by a careful study of all the changes within the Canaanite group of languages of which we have evidence, indicating the precise evidence in each case, and endeavouring to date the change as closely as possible. It may be said at once and without qualification that he has done a most valuable piece of work, based on a full and careful study of all the material, including the Ras Shamra texts, and executed with sound scholarship.

The author has deliberately limited himself to the study of the Canaanite material in itself, without reference to the cognate languages and the changes which they too experienced. He is concerned rather to chronicle the developments which took place in Canaanite dialects than to define the influences under which they took place. Occasionally, however, he has ventured beyond these limits. Thus he rejects summarily the view of Bauer and Driver that Hebrew is a " Mischsprache " (p. 11). He recognizes (pp. 46 ff.) that Canaanite originally had a preterite *yaqtulu*, with a short form *yaqtul*, which early fell into disuse, save in the forms with *waw* consecutive in Hebrew, and that it developed an imperfect *yaqtulu* at some time later than the Ras Shamra texts. But apparently he will have none of the view that the preterite sense, which is shared with Accadian, is of common origin with Accadian, while the imperfect sense, which is shared with Aramaic, is of common origin with Aramaic. It would have sufficed for his purpose to record such changes, without expressing a judgment, on grounds which are not adequately specified, as to the source of the changes.

In No. 50 of the changes he examines (p. 71), he appears to

suppose that the change of *p* to *b* is confined to Ya' udi and limited to the one word *nbš*, found in the Kilamu and Hadad inscriptions, and that it was in some way due to the vowel. As the latter of the inscriptions quoted is one admittedly written in Aramaic, but with local Canaanite admixture, the similar change in the same word found in another Aramaic inscription from this district (the Soudschin inscription) might perhaps also have been mentioned. But more important than this, the fact that the same change of *p* to *b* is found in another word in the Hadad inscription (*t'lb* in line 34, from *'lb* < *'lp*) should certainly have been mentioned, as also should the fact that the Ras Shamra texts provide further evidence, already admitted in Montgomery and Harris's *The Ras Shamra Mythological Texts* (pp. 93, 110), of similar changes in yet other words (e.g., *bšn* or *btn* < *ptn*, and *nbt* < *npt*). The recording of this evidence would have shown that the vowel was not the cause of the change, nor was it a change peculiar to a single word.

Such criticism of details is not intended to detract from the work as a whole. It should perhaps be added that the table of sources on which the study is based, with the works in which the texts may be found, would alone make it a valuable handbook. H. H. Rowley.

The Report of the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries of the Government of Palestine, over a year late, has appeared in two parts. The first part, by the Acting Director, is in the main a summary of the second part " Reports by the Heads of Services." The two together cost 150 mils or 3*s*. and are to be obtained of the Crown Agents. The year having ended in March, 1939, the Reports are by now to a large extent ancient history. But in judging of the present, history is always of value. The year ended after the suppression of the Rebellion, but half-way between the two international crises that culminated in the present war. These events left a deep impression on Palestine and its economy. Thus we are told that development in Arab agriculture was almost at a standstill during the year. In Citrus culture also there was practically no development. For this there was a further reason—over-production in the previous years. An export of less than six million cases

in 1935–6 had grown to one of more than fifteen and a quarter millions in 1938–9 and production was still rising automatically. Grape fruit, to which many small planters had trusted, proved an even greater disappointment than oranges. Even tobacco, although production was severely limited, was a disappointment, there being stocks of leaf on hand unsold from 1937, while practically none of the 1938 crop had been sold. A new production was however in potatoes, grown not only for home consumption but also for export. Some 12,000 tons were produced in 1938–9, compared with 9,000 in the previous year.

A.M.H.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :

Annual, British School at Athens, No. XXXVII.
Antiquaries Journal, Vol. XX, Nos. 1 and 2.
Expository Times, May, 1940.
Religions, No. 31, April, 1940.
Syria, Part 4, 1939.
Revue Biblique, April, 1940.
Biblica, Vol. 21, fasc 2.
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American Journal of Archaeology, XLIII, 4.
American Journal of Philology, April, 1940.
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Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, 77.
Journal of the American Oriental Society, March, 1940.
Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. XIII, 1939 ; Early Pottery of the Jebeleh Region.
The Jewish Quarterly Review, April, 1940.
Geographical Review, April, 1940.
Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1938.
Report of the United States National Museum, 1939.
Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute, October, 1939.
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Scottish Geographical Magazine, May, 1940.
Journal of the Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Vol. LXX, 1.

Jaarbericht No. 6 *van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap ex Oriente Lux*, 1939.

Everyday Arabic : Conversations in Syrian and Palestinian Colloquial Arabic with Vocabulary and Word-lists. By H. M. Nahmad and C. Rabin.

The Story of Jericho. By John Garstang and J. B. E. Garstang.

The Yemen in 1937–8. By Hugh Scott (Rep. from J.R.A.S., January, 1940).

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS

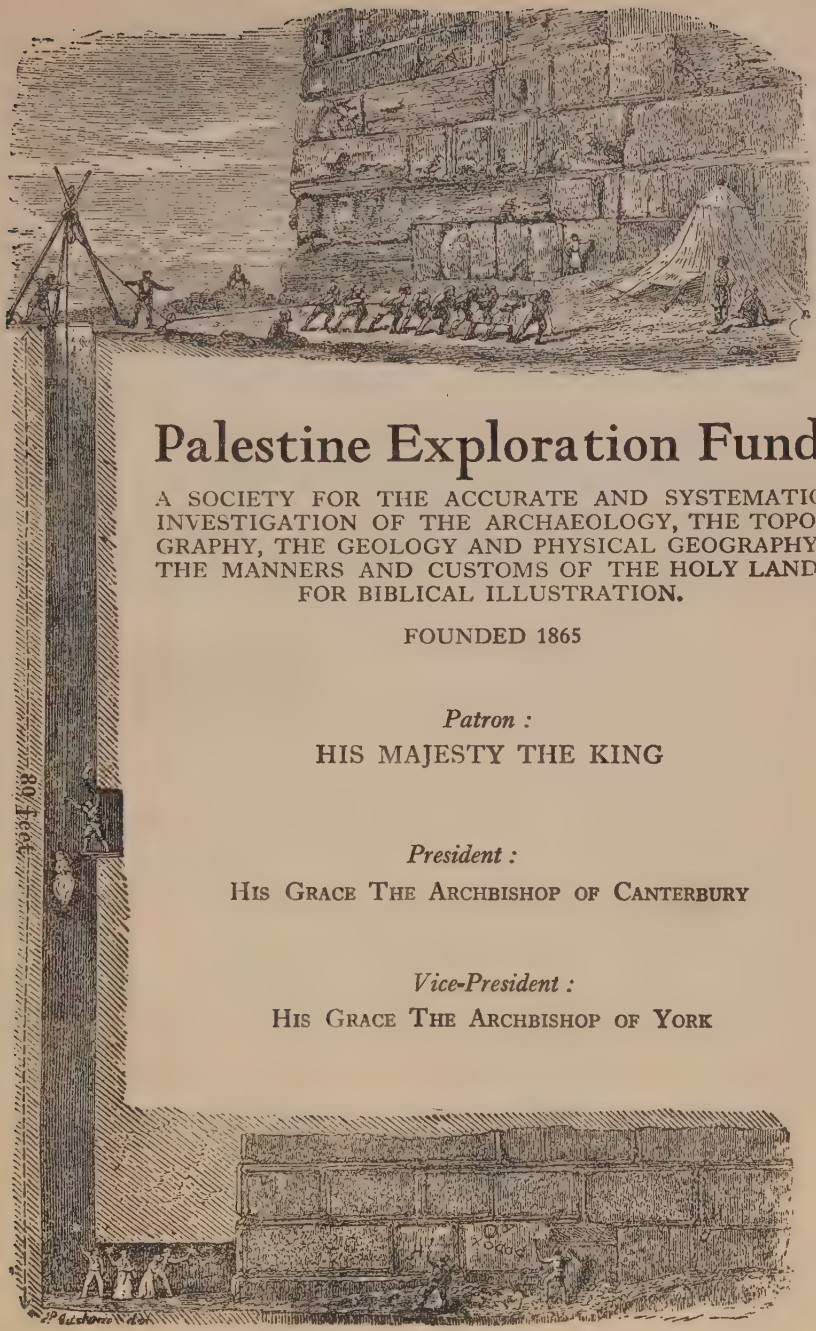
HEBREW

Hebrew	English		Hebrew	English	
א	’		כ ך	kh	
ב	b		ל	l	
ב	bh		מ ם	m	
ג	g		נ ן	n	
ג	gh		ס	s	
ד	d		ע	‘	
ד	dh		פ ף	p	
ה	h		פ ף	f	
ו	v, w		צ ץ	z	
ז	z		ק	k	
ח	h		ר	r	
ט	t		שׁ	sh	
י	y		שׂ	s	
כ	k		ת	t	
			ת	th	

ARABIC

Arabic	English		Arabic	English	
ا	’		ض	d	
ب	b		ط	t	
ت	t		ظ	tz	
ث	th		ع	‘	
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh	
ح	h		ف	f	
خ	kh		ق	k	
د	d		ك	k	
ذ	dh		ل	l	
ر	r		م	m	
ز	z		ن	n	
س	s		ه	h	
ش	sh		و	w	
ص	z		ي	y	

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū



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THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS

THE list of journals whose receipt is acknowledged by the Committee with thanks which are no mere polite convention, is a sorrowful reminder of the progressive advance of this new Dark Age over Europe, and of the gradual extinction of the lamps of knowledge. One of the editor's most agreeable tasks has been to examine and note for the benefit of readers of the QUARTERLY any material of interest from the learned periodicals of France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Czecho-Slovakia, Greece, Syria, and Palestine. Now the sadly shrunken list shows only journals from the United States of America, as yet untouched by the storm, from Palestine, Greece, and this country. One might appropriately borrow the famous couplet from Pope :

" Thy hand, great Anarch, lets the curtain fall,
And universal darkness covers all."

Meanwhile, we gladly acknowledge our debt of gratitude to those friends who continue to contribute valuable material, making possible the regular appearance of the QUARTERLY. As St. Paul said, " We are saved by hope," and we carry on with the sure hope that each quarter in its swift passage will bring with it enough material to provide for the next quarter's issue, until the curtain lifts again over a new world.

Amateur epigraphists have found much entertainment in propounding new ways of reading the puzzling fragments of early and presumably alphabetic inscriptions such as those from Gezer, Beth-shemesh, and Tell ed-Duweir. Dr. Julius Obermann, whose valuable contributions to early Semitic epigraphy have already been referred to in this journal, has contributed an important article to the American Journal of Archaeology under the title of *A Revised Reading of the Tell el-Hesi Inscription.* In his article Dr. Obermann gives very convincing grounds for rejecting Sayce's long accepted

reading of the inscription, and incidentally illustrates the extent of ground gained in our knowledge of comparative Semitic epigraphy during the last quarter of a century. The article will be read with great interest by all who are interested, either as amateurs or otherwise, in the subject of Semitic epigraphy.

We had hoped to be able to publish an article on this subject by that distinguished Italian scholar, Dr. David Diringer, who found a refuge in this country three years ago from the first wave of Jewish persecution in Italy. Unfortunately he, like many other distinguished refugees, has fallen a victim to those deplorable measures, conceived in panic, and carried out without proper discrimination, of which we shall never cease to be ashamed. Major Cazalet's vehement words in the House were none too strong to voice the feelings of very many Englishmen, and we can only be thankful that steps have been taken to rectify some of the cruelty and injustice done to many of our sincerest friends and admirers. It is hoped that Dr. Diringer will shortly be released, and that we may have the pleasure of publishing his article in this journal.

Dr. C. C. Torrey, by his penetrating studies on the obscure problems of Ezra and Nehemiah, laid Old Testament scholars under a great debt of gratitude, and his subsequent contributions to the study of the post-Exilic period, and to the field of Aramaic studies, have always been original and stimulating, even, as in the case of his views on the unity of Deutero-Isaiah, when it was difficult to agree with him. There can, however, be no doubt as to the value and importance of the long article which he has contributed to the June number of the Journal of the American Oriental Society on the two Festal Letters prefixed to the second book of Maccabees. He has shown convincingly the genuineness of the second letter, and has given us an Aramaic rendering of the Greek of the Epitomist which takes us as near as possible to the original form of the two letters. The documents are of great importance for the history of the Jews in the second century B.C.

Most readers are now aware that the name Armageddon, to which Mr. Crowfoot refers in his valuable article in the present issue, is a corruption of the Hebrew words *Har*

Megiddo, Mount Megiddo, the scene of so many bitter combats during the early history of Canaan. The first chapter of the book of Judges asserts that the tribe of Manasseh was unable to dislodge the Canaanites from Megiddo, and the Song of Deborah in Judges v. refers to Megiddo as the scene of a famous battle between the Israelites and the Canaanites. Hence the problem of the correct dating of the Song is one which has much engaged the attention of archaeologists in recent years. In the BASOR, No. 68, Professor Albright argued that the events of the Song should be placed between Megiddo VII and VI, that is, about 1125 B.C. In Bulletin No. 78 there is an interesting discussion between Dr. Engberg and Professor Albright on the question of this dating and the significance of the archaeological evidence upon which it is held to rest. Dr. Engberg inclines to the view that the action of the Song falls between Megiddo VI and V, that is, " probably before 1050 B.C." In his discussion of Dr. Engberg's arguments Professor Albright expresses himself as " strongly inclined to accept Engberg's chronological modification " of his original position. The article may profitably be read in conjunction with Mr. Crowfoot's review of Megiddo I in this issue of the QUARTERLY.

A Few Flowers from Palestine. Thanks is expressed to Mrs. P. A. F. Stephenson, the well-known artist of life and scenery in the Holy Land, for her generous gift of the above volume of original colour drawings which was awarded the Grenfell Medal of the R.H.S. in 1935.

NO. 2 HINDE STREET. It has been deemed advisable to revert to the previous expedient of conducting the business of the Fund and the B.S.A.J. from Leatherhead. Communications should be addressed to the Assistant Secretary, Palestine Exploration Fund, " Branksome," Keswick Road, Fetcham, Leatherhead, Surrey.

COVENANTED SUBSCRIPTIONS. Attention is drawn to the leaflet inserted in this number. The signing of the Covenant involves no additional expense and is of very definite assistance to the Fund which is thus enabled to claim recovery of income-tax.

THE TITLE PAGE AND INDEX for 1940 volume of the QUARTERLY will be published in January, 1941.

MEGIDDO—A REVIEW

By J. W. Crowfoot

The glamour round Megiddo-Armageddon comes from a mysterious verse in the book of Revelation (xvi, 16) which few pretend to understand. The historical site lies at the north end of a pass which leads into the plain of Esdraelon from the coast south of Mount Carmel. Some famous battles have been fought here, and Thutmose III, the victor in the first which is on record, gives an almost incredible tale of the booty captured in the town which stood on the hill. In later days, except for a brief period, the place was of no particular significance: the Romans stationed troops near it on lower ground where there is an Arab village still called Lajjun (=Legio), but for more than two thousand years the hill itself has not been inhabited.

It has a new claim to attention now as the site of the largest archaeological excavations which have been undertaken in Palestine. They were started by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in 1925 and have been continuing ever since under the successive direction of Dr. C. S. Fisher, Mr. P. L. O. Guy and Mr. Gordon Loud. Various *Communications*, *Studies* and *Publications* have already been issued about special branches of the work but this[1] is the first volume to deal with the results of the excavations from a more general standpoint. It gives a detailed and critical account of the five topmost strata on the hill so far as they were cleared in the first nine seasons, and it is a work of the first importance. The preparation of the volume has been entrusted to the very competent hands of Mr. Lamon and Mr. Shipton. Mr. Lamon was a member of the expedition from 1928 to 1936: for some part of this period he was in charge of the field work on the mound and he has already published an account of the Megiddo

[1] *Megiddo I; Seasons of* 1925–34, *Strata I–V*. By Robert S. Lamon and Geoffrey M. Shipton. The University of Chicago Press, 1939.

water system (*O.I.P.* xxxii). Mr. Shipton joined the expedition even earlier and stayed longer : he was part author of " Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age pottery of Megiddo " (*Study* No. 10). The two editors are warmly to be congratulated. In the nine years with which they are concerned the expedition was lavishly staffed—the staff list which is prefixed to this volume contains thirty names—and each stage in the work was elaborately recorded. The editors have therefore had a mass of material to digest and they have presented it in a clear business-like fashion with a generous number of illustrations. I am proposing to query some of their conclusions but I should not venture to do so if the records had been less carefully kept or presented less faithfully.

The subject has been wisely limited to the five topmost strata on the hill.[1] The great work of the previous stratum, No. VI, is the colossal watershaft at the west end of the site, which is dated to the twelfth century by a base of Ramses VI (1159–42 B.C.). The limitation to the five upper strata has given a unity of interest to the volume : no exact date can be assigned either to the beginning of stratum V or the end of stratum I, but the period starts roughly in the time of the United Israelite monarchy and closes some time after the fall of the southern kingdom of Judah. The book tells us more about the ups and downs of a little Palestinian town during this period than we can find in any other publication. Megiddo was under Israelite rule for most of the time : what the racial complexion of the inhabitants was, whether they were Hebrews or Canaanites by descent, we do not know ; their culture was Palestinian-Israelite.

The book is divided into two parts, Part I describing the architectural remains, stratum by stratum, Part II the pottery and other objects : we shall adopt the same order in this review but reserve our queries about the chronology until the end.

Architectural Remains. Stratum V. The city of No. VI had come to a sudden end " most probably due to an earth-

[1] The strata, as in previous publications of the Institute are numbered from the surface downwards, I being the latest in time, V the earliest, but the numeration has been slightly changed : what was stratum V in *O.I.C.* No. 9, for example, has now become No. VI.

quake followed by a fierce conflagration " (p. 7). The great watershaft had fallen in, and for a time the site was deserted. The next city seems to have spread over the whole of the top of the hill. Most of the remains are domestic. No trace of a city wall has been identified, no large public buildings. The houses in general were orientated to north-northwest but round the periphery of the hill they were set at tangents to the edge and there they may have formed a continuous building line which would have given some measure of protection to the place. The walls of the houses were thin, constructed of poorly laid rubble or of a light mud brick which is very different from the burnt brick of the earlier stratum : most of the floors were earthen. One building contained two rows of the rude monolithic uprights which have often been called *mazzeboth*, and a number of cult objects which were found near suggests that it may have been a small shrine with a store house attached : " horned altars, Astarte figurines, and other objects of the mother-goddess cult " are mentioned among the associated finds. A second building also contained a row of monolithic uprights, and objects with a cult significance are so common in this stratum that the editors go so far as to say that " future excavations may necessitate the expansion of the sacred area to include all of the stratum over the whole site " (p. 5), a conclusion which the facts hardly justify : the facts only show that religion played a large part in the life of the people and that each household had its own objects of religious ceremonial. The number and character of the small objects found in this stratum (see below) proves that the town was tolerably prosperous though the buildings as such cut a poor figure : the absence of fortifications suggests that it was a peaceful period, and the presence of Cypriote imports among the small finds that trade as well as agriculture contributed to the wealth of the place.

Stratum IV. In the next period the city was radically transformed. From being the site of a small unfortified township the hill was transformed into one of the chariot cities which are mentioned in the book of Kings. A royal palace, two other residences or offices, a strong city gate, a restored water installation, and two large compounds for the stabling of chariot horses, are proofs of the new order. These buildings

cover practically the whole of the area which has been cleared down to this level. As the only buildings of real architectural significance in any of the strata with which we are concerned, they will have to be described more fully. They are among the best examples of a style of building which came from Phoenicia: the earliest appearance of it known to me is in the "Proto-Phoenician" stratum at Ras Shamra: masonry in the same style has been found in the harbour at Tyre, at Beisan and in the Ahab buildings at Samaria.

The palace at Megiddo stood in a walled enclosure on the south side of the hill: it was partly excavated many years ago by Schumacher. The wall round the court which measured about 57 m. square, was of mud brick on a footing of rubble masonry with ashlar piers at regular intervals. The entrance was on the north side through a gate with towers on either side: in the towers the ashlar masonry was continuous. Court and towers were set out with the same mathematical accuracy as the buildings at Samaria: the masonry was laid and dressed in the same style. The floor of the court was of lime plaster. Two large proto-Ionic capitals were found close to the towers. The palace itself was in the southern half of the court: its foundations were sunk through stratum V into stratum VI, but only four stones of the footing above the foundations were found in place, ashlar blocks like those in the gate towers: it consisted apparently of an open court with rooms round it and two outlying porches, all set out in the same careful way as the gate.

A second house in the same style and on the same axis stood a few metres west of the palace compound: the editors think it was probably a sort of office or chancery.

Farther west again, on a slightly different axis in correspondence with a curve in the line of the hill, was a second large courtyard, 85 m. by 64 m., with five rows of stables at the south end, which were cleared after Lamon had taken charge of the field work on the hill. Originally the ground covered by the court fell away to the northwest and it was levelled up with a filling brought from the great watershaft of stratum VI which had been choked up since the abandonment of the city of that period. The wall round the court had ashlar piers at intervals like the wall round the palace compound and the floor was of lime plaster. The court was well drained; re-

mains of a tank for watering the horses were found in the middle ; two long rooms on the east may have served as a chariot garage. The five rows of stables were all alike : each row consisted of a central aisle with a lime plastered floor and fifteen (?) stalls on either side : each stall had a stone manger and a pillar which served both as a roof support and as a tethering post : the stalls were floored with rubble. The building had been heavily robbed but the plan, if not the elevation, could be recovered in its entirety : the editors lay stress on its military character—each row of stalls had only one exit and if one horse had to be taken out every horse between it and the exit would have to be moved at the same time.

A second complex of stables was cleared by Guy in the north-east quarter of the city : in this complex the stables were arranged in three blocks, again on slightly different axes corresponding to the line of the hill : one of these blocks has not been completely cleared, the others are similar in plan and construction to the southern group.

Another residential building south-east of these stables is the finest example at Megiddo of the type of building with ashlar piers. It was regarded as a temple by May, but Guy was almost certainly right in identifying it as the residence of the commandant of cavalry or some other equally high official : Guy's view is endorsed by Lamon and Shipton. The house stood on a raised podium above remains of stratum V : it was as carefully set out as the palace, the nicks in the stones and the red lines which the masons used to guide themselves can still be seen : the ashlar piers were, it is suggested, arranged to carry the main upright timbers of the house, the intervening rubble sections of the footing carrying only light curtain walls of mud brick : remains of cedar wood ash found on the top stone course show that the walls were built like those described in the book of Kings—" three rows of hewed stone and a row of cedar beams." Four proto-Ionic capitals and a fragment of a fifth were found in the neighbourhood.

The city gate of stratum IV lay on the north side of the hill. A section of it was found in the 1935–36 season by Gordon Loud after the period to which this volume is confined, and as there is some more work still to be done at this point its publication has been delayed for the present (p. 74). The section found by

Loud is built of massive material in a style worthy of the other fine buildings in the stratum : it underlay a gate which was built, probably, on a similar plan but in much flimsier masonry. The latter gate, which was discovered by Guy, was the inner gate at the end of a fortified approach which included a second gate lower down the hillside to north-east, and the original IV gateway may have had an outer gate of the same kind, but for further information we must await the appearance of another volume.

Loud's discovery strengthens my doubts about the date of a stone city wall which the editors still assign to stratum IV. This wall was built after the destruction of the palace described above, it ran round the crest of the hill, it was bonded into Guy's gate which now clearly belongs to stratum III, and it is not built in the normal IV style. It was constructed in blocks about 6 m. long, so arranged that an offset on the outer face corresponds with a recess on the inside : the wall averages about 3.60 m. thick. The bonding, shapes, and sizes of the stones are described as " reminiscent of mud-brick construction " but there is no trace of mud-brick having been used in the construction : the only fine ashlar blocks which it contains occur in places where there might have been ruined IV buildings to loot.

The available evidence suggests to me that the editors have made a mistake in dividing stratum IV into two sub-periods, the first, IV B, to include the palace, and the second, IV, to include this city wall and the other buildings in the palace style. I am tempted to conjecture that the stone city wall belongs to stratum III, and that the IV wall, like that round the hill at Samaria, may have been a double or triple wall, just *below* the crest of the hill, constructed mainly of brick and embracing the outer towers and traces of fortification which have been seen on the north side of the hill (p. 32), but this is only a suggestion put forward with reserve.

The fine buildings in this stratum have been variously dated. Fisher assigned them to the ninth century, the time of Omri and Ahab, on account of their resemblance to the buildings of this dynasty at Samaria. Guy thought they were Solomonic : Lamon and Shipton follow Guy. We shall discuss the date after glancing at the other finds on the site.

Stratum III. After the destruction of the stratum IV city, the top of the hill was again deserted for a period, " two or three decades " according to our editors. The city wall which has just been described was in being all through the III period but not after it : the town gate stood high above the IV gate and a drain ran through it between the two levels. The buildings inside the wall are more like those of V than those of IV. The houses are laid out in blocks divided by evenly spaced parallel streets. Two of the largest which lay south-west of the city gate, are planned in the usual fashion round an open court : one of the rooms opening on the court had two columns on the court front. The masonry in general was of rough uncoursed rubble : lime plaster floors were exceptional, earthen floors being the rule. A great unplastered storage pit, 7 m. deep and 11 m. across at the top, was found near the middle of the town. The city seems to have been fairly prosperous but the remains are dull and undistinguished.

Stratum II. In Stratum II the most remarkable building is a massive fort on the east edge of the hill with walls varying from 2 to 2½ m. thick : some of the proto-Ionic capitals from the IV stratum " commandant's house " were found built into these walls. Part of this fort lay above the town wall which had evidently fallen into disuse. Some of the better houses in stratum III seem to have continued in occupation still. The stratigraphic evidence, according to the editors, suggests that stratum III represents a much longer period than stratum II.

Stratum I. Stratum II faded into stratum I as imperceptibly as III had faded into II over large parts of the site. There was practically no change in building levels, but as time went on the streets tended to become cluttered up with rubbish and rose higher than the houses on either side, as one sees to-day in the old quarters of Jerusalem : in places it was " impossible to disentangle the various strata " (p. 63) : no sections are published. In fact, after the town walls had disappeared at the end of III Megiddo was nothing but a large Palestinian village with more drains perhaps than its latterday equivalent and one or two respectable houses in the traditional style. It played no known part in any historical event, for it is the *valley* of Megiddo, not the *hill* or the *city*, which is represented as the scene of

Pharaoh Necho's victory over Josiah (II Chron. xxxv, 22).

The editors assume that the top of the hill was again completely deserted in, or before, the fourth century B.C., because the pottery of stratum I shows no sign of any Hellenistic influence. In the Roman period the old town site was used as a burial place.

Pottery and other objects. Pottery comes in for the lion's share of the second part of this volume. This part which consists mainly of tables is divided into five sections—a " Register of finds " which fills fifty pages in double columns, " Pottery types," a comparative study twelve pages long, " Distribution of pottery types " which takes up twenty-two pages again in double columns, " The coins," a note by Mr. Edward T. Newell on coins collected in the neighbourhood, and an " Index of loci." These are followed by 116 plates with descriptive notes facing them, Nos. 1–65 on the pottery, Nos. 66–115 on the other objects. The " other objects " include cylinders, scarabs, seals, amulets, and the usual miscellaneous collection of toilet articles, weapons and tools in stone, ivory, bone and metal. Every object of significance which was found in the period under review is illustrated and a few of Schumacher's finds are also included, but not some of the most famous such as the seals of Shema and Asaph : the descriptive matter about these objects rarely exceeds one line in length but some references to previous discussions of particular objects are added. The pottery is the main feature of the volume : it accounts for the larger number of entries in the general tables and it is the subject of the only piece of consecutive writing provided by the editors.

The editors have acted wisely, we believe, in concentrating thus on the pottery and in particular on the types or shapes of the various classes of pots, jugs, jars, bowls and so forth. The collection with which they have had to deal is a very large one and it is unique in that nearly all the pots in it come from recognizable strata, nearly every pot, that is to say, falls into one of five time groups. In some parts, especially in the upper levels, the stratification was, as we have seen, difficult to disentangle, but a careful study of the " distribution of pottery types " inclines us to think that the difficulties have been *on the whole* satisfactorily overcome. The following table which

has been compiled from this section to illustrate the distribution of the three largest classes, the jugs, jars and bowls, presents a coherent and convincing picture of the development of the industry.

Range	179 *Jug types distribution*	131 *Jar types distribution*	169 *Bowl types distribution*
V only	58	38	59
V–IV	2	–	13
V–III	2	2	3
V–II	–	–	2
V–I	–	–	1
Total in V	62	40	78
IV only	7	4	10
IV–III	13	12	14
IV–II	7	4	20
IV–I	5	8	5
Carried over from V	4	2	19
Total in IV	36	30	68
III only	31	21	19
III–II	15	7	6
III–I	8	6	8
Carried over from V and IV	27	26	45
Total in III	81	60	78
II only	12	8	4
II–I	—	5	2
Carried over from V–III	35	25	42
Total in II	47	38	48
I only	13	14	3
Carried over from V–II	13	19	16
Total in I	26	33	19

It is clear from this table that the five strata represent five distinct phases in the development of a single homogeneous culture. Stratum V appears to have been a rich stratum with more forms than any other except III, and it was rich also in "other objects"; with what it inherited from the past we are not now concerned: it transmitted a number of bowl types to later strata but few jug and jar types. Stratum IV which produced a comparatively small amount of material, is also rich in new forms but transmitted a much larger proportion of these to the following strata. Stratum III is the richest of all, stratum I the poorest. The number of types which overlap from stratum to stratum proves the continuity of the culture, but each phase presents some new features.

The contour of every pot-type is shown on plates 1–42: photographs of the pots, or of the fragments from which the type has been reconstructed, follow on plates 43–65: for the numerical frequency of each type one has to turn to the distribution tables where the find-spot is also given: the available details about the find-spot are given in the index of loci. Ware, firing, burnish and the colour of the decoration, are noted on the pages facing the illustrations.

The pottery of the Middle Iron Age is mostly monochrome: a bright red strip is a common form of decoration and burnishing is frequently added: painted patterns or patterns in reserve are comparatively rare and rudimentary: it is the shape, therefore, which matters most to the archaeologist who is trying to distinguish one period from another, and the gradations in shape are so fine—the galb or curve is so little more or less concave or convex as the case may be, the base or rim so little more or less pronounced—that it is a difficult criterion to use. A large series in five divisions of so many jugs and jars and bowls will therefore be of incalculable value. It comes, of course, from a small site in the north of Palestine: there may be variations in other parts of the country which will have to be taken into consideration, but from the north of Syria to the south of Palestine and perhaps even farther afield in the western colonies of the Phoenician cities, so many general resemblances have already come to light that I shall be surprised if the Megiddo series does not prove to be widely valid. Mrs. Crowfoot and I have tried to control the series in a

measure with the plates which have been prepared for the Samaria publication. We think that the pottery of the Israelite period from Samaria may have been rather finer in technique, as one would expect from the capital of the kingdom, though it is now much more fragmentary because the site was so heavily occupied in later days ; for the same reason much less was found in undisturbed strata. The forms, however, appear to be almost identical: there are hardly any shapes from Samaria which we cannot match at Megiddo, and—what is more significant—the few shapes which come from " clean " strata at Samaria appear in the same order of time as the parallel shapes in this volume. The two latest strata at Megiddo are probably the least valuable (stratum I is particularly poor) and on these we may hope for more light when the contemporary strata from Lachish have been published. But, taken all in all, this book marks a very notable advance in our knowledge of the pottery of the period.

Chronology. There is only one reference to building at Megiddo in the Bible, the statement in the book of Kings (1 Kings, ix, 15) that it was one of several cities built by Solomon, and there is only one object from any of the five upper strata which can be closely dated, the fragment of a stele with the cartouche of Sheshonk I : the date of this is about 922 B.C.,[1] but it does not help us to date any particular stratum because it was found in one of Schumacher's dumps and no one knows from which stratum it came. In the matter of chronology we can hardly look for more than rough approximations, but I do not like some of the dates which have been suggested by the editors : they write as follows :

" Because of the scarcity of closely datable material it has been difficult to assign absolute dates to the various strata. However, by a careful study of the pottery, by comparison with well stratified analogies from other sites, and by definitive criteria offered by certain of the objects it has been possible to arrive at approximate dates for all the strata. It must be pointed out, however, that our assignations are made with the utmost reservations :

[1] This is the date suggested by Albright for the fifth year of Rehoboam in which the expedition of Sheshonk or Shishak, as he is called in the Bible, took place : see *AASOR*, 1932, p. 57.

Stratum I	600–350 B.C.	Stratum IV	1000–800 B.C.
Stratum II	650–600 B.C.	Stratum V	1060–1000 B.C."
Stratum III	780–650 B.C.		(p. xxvii).

The material is meagre but as I read the evidence of buildings and other finds, the earlier dates in this table are open to several objections.

Stratum V which runs *ex hypothesi* from 1060 to 1000 B.C. falls in one of the more barbarous and chaotic periods of Palestinian history : it lasts only about sixty years and yet it is more prolific in small finds and pottery types than any stratum except III : this is paradox No. 1. Stratum IV, on the contrary, which lasts for two hundred years from 1000 to 800 B.C., is one of the poorest strata numerically in finds of this kind though it is the only stratum which contains any fine architectural remains : this is paradox No. 2. A third puzzling feature is the duration of the fine buildings in question, the palace, the stables and the other houses which the editors ascribe to Solomon : we know, of course, that temples and sacred precincts survive from generation to generation, but is it conceivable that secular government buildings of this character, stables in particular, should have outlived all the vicissitudes, political and dynastic, which befell the land of Israel between the time of Solomon and the reigns of the first two kings of the Jehu dynasty ? Lastly, the ascription of these buildings to Solomon takes no account of their extraordinary similarity to the buildings at Samaria which date from the Omri-Ahab period, nearly a hundred years after Solomon : the editors are well aware of the similarity but they seem to regard the Solomonic date as a *chose jugée*.

On the other hand, it is all plain sailing if stratum V begins about a hundred years later, that is, in the reign of Solomon, and if the fine buildings in stratum IV are assigned to the Omri-Ahab dynasty. In this case the number, character and variety of the finds from stratum V are in order : the stratum lasted for the better part of a century and included the most splendid years of Solomon's reign. The finds from stratum IV are equally in order : the buildings are like those of the same date in Samaria, and the light harvest in small finds is due to the short duration of the period, some forty years or so at the most.

In the circumstances we shall have to scrutinize the arguments advanced by the editors for assigning stratum V to the eleventh century and stratum IV to the time of Solomon.

Their arguments for the early date of stratum V are based on the character of the pottery. " Its most distinguishing feature " is " a dark red irregularly hand-burnished wash " (p. 7). Stratum IV, they continue, " is characterized by true MI [Middle Iron] pottery. The dark red wash was replaced by a light one, and wheel burnishing almost entirely displaced the hand burnishing typical of V. This change from hand to wheel burnishing seems to have taken place all over Palestine at about 1000 B.C., which is the date assigned to the end of Stratum V " (ib.). The year 1000 B.C.—which seems, by the way, an unfortunate date to have chosen for the beginning of a stratum in which the only buildings described are attributed to Solomon—is quoted from an article by Albright dated 1924. In this article Albright was discussing pottery of the hand-burnished type from Gibeah II which he attributed to the time of Saul, and he would, I imagine, be the first to deprecate this dogmatic use of a general date put forward so long ago. The change-over in question may have started as early as 1000 B.C. but hand-burnished wares lasted on very much longer. At Samaria they lasted into the ninth century,[1] and " pieces from Hielite Jericho " which dates also from the ninth century (1 Kings xvi, 34), are mentioned in this volume (p. 164), and there are many examples on the Megiddo plates of fragments with irregular hand burnish or vertical burnish from strata which are later than IV. So far as I can judge from the evidence in this volume, the character of most of the ware from stratum V gives no answer to the question at issue : much might belong to either century, eleventh or tenth, but the abundance of types makes the latter the more probable and I question whether any expert in Cypriote ceramics would date the imports from Cyprus before 1000 B.C. I cannot help sus-

[1] The statement on p. 61 that " none of the hand-burnished ware was found at Samaria " is based, I think, on the old *Harvard Excavations* : it is no longer true as will be seen when our Samaria pottery is published. Albright himself has already put the fact on record—" The discovery of pottery from the reign of Ahab (cir. 870–850 B.C.) at Samaria is of great importance in fixing the duration of certain EI I types " (*AASOR*, 1932, p. xv).

pecting that the editors would have hesitated to date stratum V so early if they had not been influenced by the arguments marshalled by Guy to support the Solomonic date of the stables in stratum IV.

Guy's arguments were based on two passages in the book of Kings which are both quoted again with approval in this volume (p. 59). The first of these passages (1 Kings vii, 12) comes from the description of the walls of the great court at Jerusalem which I have already quoted—the three rows of hewed stones and the row of cedar beams above them : this description might have been applied to hundreds of the better buildings erected in the first half of the last millennium. The other passage comes in an account of Solomon's public works and the reasons why he had to raise a special levy (1 Kings ix, 15–19) : it runs as follows :

" And this is the reason of the levy which king Solomon raised : for to build the house of the Lord, and his own house, and Millo, and the wall of Jerusalem, and Hazor, and Megiddo, and Gezer.

For Pharaoh king of Egypt had gone up, and taken Gezer, and burnt it with fire, and slain the Canaanites that dwelt in the city, and given it for a present unto his daughter, Solomon's wife.

And Solomon built Gezer, and Beth-horon the nether,

And Baalath, and Tadmor in the wilderness, in the land,

And all the cities of store that Solomon had, and cities for his chariots, and cities for his horsemen, and that which Solomon desired to build in Jerusalem, and in Lebanon, and in all the land of his dominion."

The large area in stratum IV which is covered by stables is certainly a valid reason for describing Megiddo as a chariot city at the time when these stables were laid out, but the verses quoted suggest to me that it was not so reckoned in the time of Solomon by the writer of the passage in question—Solomon built Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, Bethhoron the nether, Baalath, Tadmor in the wilderness, *and* cities of store *and* cities of chariots *and* cities for his horsemen. The writer or a commentator, moreover, explains what he meant by " building a city " in the gloss on Gezer : it was not the construction of a series of public buildings as at Jerusalem but the rebuilding of

an old city which had been destroyed. *We* infer from this passage that Megiddo was in this condition : the site of the city represented by stratum VI, that is to say, had been lying desolate for a longer period than our editors think : it was Solomon's re-occupation of the site by the buildings of stratum V which is commemorated in the book of Kings.

The later date of the fine buildings in stratum IV seems to me to be certain. In Fisher's words (quoted on p. 58), the masonry at Megiddo " parallels exactly the masonry from the Omri and Ahab palaces found at Samaria : " the buildings are set out in the same way on both sites, with guiding red lines and nicks on the stones to mark angles : the blocks are laid and bonded and drafted according to the same conventions : the same masons' marks occur : open courts have lime-plastered floors of the same character and the proto-Ionic capitals in both places are identical in design. Building traditions may last for a long time but the similarities between the work on the two sites are too numerous and too detailed to belong to widely separated periods. The scale of the buildings at Megiddo, the demolition of the private houses of the Solomonic city and the creation of a chariot city in their place, are in keeping with all that we know of the character of Ahab. Unlike Solomon, Ahab was a warrior king : his chariotry was famous : according to the inscription of Shalmanezer III he sent 2,000 chariots to stem the advance of the Assyrians at Qarqar (about 854 B.C.). His connection with Megiddo may also explain the flight of Ahaziah king of Judah to Megiddo after the murder of his uncle Jehoram at Jezreel (2 Kings, ix, 27) : Ahaziah was the grandson of Ahab, and he may well have thought that he had a better chance of finding a safe way back to Jerusalem through the wadi Arah with the help of loyalists in Megiddo than by the direct road under the walls of Samaria.

This then is the alternative reading of strata V and IV which I venture to submit. Stratum V was a refoundation by Solomon some time after 960 : the town flourished for the better part of a century and it is to this stratum that the stele of Sheshonk belonged. Between 870 and 850 B.C. Ahab made a clean sweep of the Solomonic town : he relevelled the whole of the hill top, reopening the old watershaft at the same time : large detachments of his chariotry and cavalry were stationed

here. This chariot city, stratum IV, had a short life : it was destroyed in the reign of Jehu or his successor between 840 and 800 B.C., that disastrous period when the Israelite host was reduced to " fifty horsemen and ten chariots and ten thousand footmen " (2 Kings xiii, 7). After lying desolate for a few years it was reoccupied either in the time of Jehoash or his son Jeroboam II : the fortifications were rebuilt and the town entered on another period of comparative prosperity.

The revised time-table will run as follows :

Stratum V	about 960 B.C. to about 870 B.C.
Stratum IV	about 870 B.C. to about 840 B.C.
Stratum III	from about 800 B.C.

THE SITE OF ANCIENT LACHISH

The Evidence of Ostrakon IV from Tell ed-Duweir

By D. Winton Thomas

The aim of this note is not to discuss the general question of the site of ancient Lachish—which in the last half century has been identified with at least four different localities[1]—but only to contest the claim made by Torczyner that lines 9 b–13 of Ostrakon IV " give positive proof that Tell ed-Duweir, where the letters were found, really is the site of ancient Lachish."[2] Torczyner is not alone in holding this view. Starkey[3] and Dussaud[4] have expressed themselves similarly, and it was the view to which the present writer earlier inclined.[5] Since, however, it now appears that these lines are not so decisively in favour of this conclusion as was at one time supposed, it seems desirable that a statement, albeit but brief, should be made to this effect.

The lines read as follows (I give Torczyner's translation which, with one exception[6] which does not affect the general sense, is universally adopted)—" for the signal-stations of Lachish we are watching, according to all the signs which my lord gives, because we do not see (the signals of) Azeqah."[7] " It is clear from this," writes Torczyner, " that the place where Ya'ush lives is none other than Lachish."[8] But is it so

[1] In 1891 Petrie, as is well known, identified it with Tell el-Hesy ; in 1929 Albright proposed to identify it with Tell ed-Duweir (*Zeitschr. f.d. alttest. Wiss.*, vi. i. p. 3) ; while in 1931 came attempts to identify it with Bet 'Auwa and Tell 'Etun (see Beyer in *Zeitschr. d. deutsch. Pal-Vereins*, 54, p. 148 ff, and Alt in *Pal-Jahrb*, 27, p. 20 ff. K. Elliger has criticized these views in *ZDPV*, 57, p. 107ff.)

[2] *The Lachish Letters*, 1938, p. 84.

[3] *PEQ*, 1937, p. 174 f.

[4] *Syria*, XIX, pp. 258, 268.

[5] See *Journ. of Theol. St.*, XL, p. 4, n. 2.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 9, n. 3.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

clear ? It may be pointed out, in the first place, that it cannot be regarded as certain that the sender of the letter had Tell ed-Duweir, and not some other place, in mind when he wrote that he and his fellows were watching the signal-stations of Lachish.[1] There is indeed nothing in the lines in question to forbid the supposition that both Tell ed-Duweir and Lachish were signal-stations,[2] and that the military governor of Tell ed-Duweir commanded all three stations[3]—Tell ed-Duweir, Lachish and Azeqah—and perhaps also some others.[4] Again, no great weight need be attached to the fact that the letter was found at Tell ed-Duweir. We know nothing of its " history " prior to its discovery there. Even if its original destination was in fact Lachish—and we do not know for certain that it was—it could still be argued that it might have been brought to Tell ed-Duweir later.[5]

Our conclusion then must be that this letter—the only one incidentally in which Lachish is mentioned—does not in itself provide sufficient evidence to prove that Tell ed-Duweir marks the site of ancient Lachish. We may indeed go further and say that, while there are good grounds for believing that Tell ed-Duweir is to be identified with Lachish, the evidence of Ostrakon IV is of too uncertain a character to warrant its use even as an additional argument in favour of the identification.

[1] Cp. A. Parrot, *Syria*, XVI, p. 419 f.
[2] Cp. R. de Vaux, *Rev. Bibl.*, Apr., 1939, p. 201.
[3] Cp. A. Jirku, *ZAW*, XVI, 1939, p. 153.
[4] Cp. Torczyner, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
[5] See Jirku, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* It may be noted that the letter bears the name neither of the sender nor of the recipient. Was it really sent by Hosha'yahu to Ya'ush, as Torczyner (*op.cit.*, p. 85) assumes ?

SOME CENSER TYPES FROM PALESTINE, ISRAELITE PERIOD

By Grace M. Crowfoot

Among the ancient pottery vessels of Palestine many have been found which are pierced with holes. Most of these have the holes pierced at the bottom of the vessel, suggesting a cullender or strainer, or some form of primitive "steamer" such as is in use in Palestine to-day. The holes pierced at the base of spouts or at the tops of jugs no doubt served the function of strainers. But some vessels have been found in which rows of holes are pierced only in the upper part of the cup or bowl and these cannot have been used as strainers.

Megiddo is especially rich in these types. Four different kinds of " chalices " are shown pierced in this way (Megiddo I. 33.3, 7, 11, 13) and several cups or bowls with handles and three or four knob feet (Megiddo I. 23.20–24; 21.146, 147). The bowl type is also represented at Gezer (Macalister, Gezer, vol. II, fig. 370) and Beisan (FitzGerald *Beth Shan Pottery*, vol. II, pt. 2, Pl. XLVI, 15). At Samaria among the " chalice " forms found in the shrine deposit E 207, some rim fragments were pierced, and one of these, restored with a foot after a very similar form at Megiddo (M.I.33.13) is shown on Fig. 1 ; it is in buff ware painted with dark purplish red bands. Fragments of pierced cup and small jug-like forms in buff ware were also found in the same deposit, and a restoration of one is

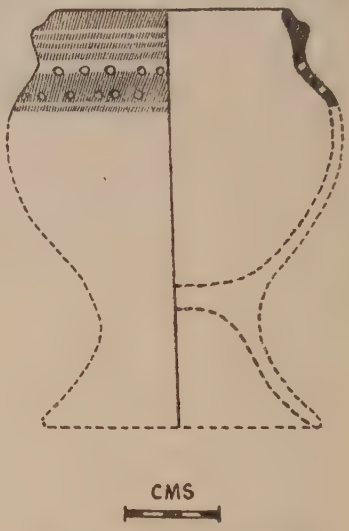


FIG. 1. ANCIENT PAINTED "CHALICE" CENSER FROM PALESTINE ISRAELITE PERIOD

shown on Pl. X, Fig. 1. 2 together with an example from Gezer, Pl. X, Fig. 1.1 and one from Megiddo, Pl. X, Fig. 1.3.[1]

The earliest Samaria example, the upper part of a small pierced jug like form, comes from Period III (ninth century B.C. ?), the rest including the pierced chalice Fig. 1 and the jug-like Pl. X, Fig. 1.2 come from Period VI (eighth century B.C. ?). The pierced chalices at Megiddo come from Strat. IV–I (c. 1000–600 B.C.) and the handled cups go back to Strat. V (c. 1060–1000 B.C.), but the type must be older. The Beth Shan example is probably the oldest from Palestine, twelfth or thirteenth century B.C. and in the Museum at Rhodes small pierced pots with one handle and knob feet are shown from Ialissos, of the Mycenaean period. These resemble the Samaria type, Pl. X, Fig. 1.2 in being jug like, but with a wider mouth and three rows of holes.

These pierced vessels have been something of a mystery till now. The excavators at Megiddo say: "We can offer no reasonable explanation of the holes in the sides of some of them. They may have been used as braziers, but there was no trace of burning on any of them."

I suggest that these vessels are censers, by analogy with the modern pottery censers in use in the Greek Islands, Rhodes, and Cyprus, which often, though not always, have holes pierced in the upper part of the cup or bowl. Their use is mainly for censing in houses, especially after a death, but on Skyros I have seen them in the small shrine-like churches with which that place abounds. The incense is thrown on a few scraps of hot charcoal placed in the bottom of the cup and no doubt the holes in the sides of the cup would be of use in giving air to keep the charcoal alight. The names given to these censers is, so far as I have been able to record them, always something that is near to the old Greek name for a censer, θυμιατήριον; on Skyros, for example, they are called θυμιάνδα and at Rhodes θυμιᾶτο.

Examples of these modern pottery censers are shown on Pl. X, Figs. 2 and 3; they have all one handle and a stemmed base, and are wheel made in the local pottery industries of the areas named.

[1] This is Megiddo I 23.22, reproduced by courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

Pl. X, Fig. 2.1. Censer, 7.5 cm. high, in red ware with a smooth surface ; three holes.

This came from Mitylene, and was made at Ayasos, a village situated at the foot of Mt. Olympus, most picturesque, and an extremely interesting craft centre. The slashes of white seen on the censer are accidental, due no doubt to the fact that most of the common ware made there is decorated in white wash ; the favourite design is the palm branch and whorl, which I have seen also on pots sold in Rhodes and at Constantinople.

Pl. X, Fig. 2.2. Small brazier, 8 cm. high, in exceedingly heavy brown purplish ware, a mass of grits, some sparkling. It has slit bars at the base of the bowl, and a triangular hole in the stemmed base. Decoration in white wash of a spray on one side and the name Τηνος on the other.

This is a miniature of some very large braziers in the same heavy ware, seen for sale on the same pottery stall at the famous pilgrimage centre of Tenos, brought there from the mountain villages where they are made.

Pl. X, Fig. 2.3. Censer, 8.5 cm. high in bright red ware with a few shining specks, decorated with a fish and scroll patterns in white wash ; no holes.

This came from Skyros ; we visited the pottery works on the sea shore and watched a potter using the little pot shown on Pl. X, Fig. 3.2 (q.v.) to decorate the ware with white wash ; the favourite designs were the fish, leafy " skirls," scrolls and ivy trails.

Pl. X, Fig. 3.1. Censer, 9 cm. high in dark red ware with many sparkling specks ; decorated with pink slip and rim covered with green glaze ; four holes.

This came from Samos ; it was bought in Vathy but made at the village of Mavrovissi, a pottery centre we unfortunately were not able to visit. The dark red of this censer is like the colour of the roofs in the neighbouring village of Pagonda which are all plastered and burnished with the red clay from the famous clay beds near by.[1]

[1] Besides this red clay there are grey clays on the coast which burn yellow, and, as Dr. Eilmann has pointed out, these varieties have to be taken into account when discussing Samian wares of olden days. I only saw tiles made from the shore beds, all the pots were in the fine red mountain clay, like that of our censer.

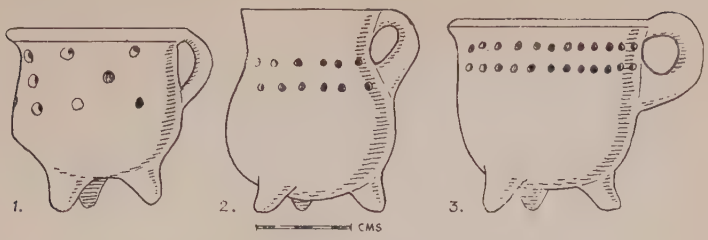


FIG. 1. ANCIENT " CUP " CENSERS
1. GEZER. 2. SAMARIA. 3. MEGIDDO

FIG. 2. MODERN " CUP " CENSERS
1. CENSER FROM AYASOS, MITYLENE. GREEK ISLANDS
2. SMALL BRAZIER FROM TENOS. GREEK ISLANDS
3. CENSER FROM SKYROS. GREEK ISLANDS

FIG. 3. MODERN " CUP " CENSERS
1. CENSER FROM MAVROVISSE, SAMOS. GREEK ISLANDS
2. PAINT POT FROM SKYROS. GREEK ISLANDS
3. CENSER FROM LARNACA, CYPRUS
4. CENSER FROM RHODES

Pl. X, Fig. 3.2. Little paint pot, 8 cm. high in red ware. Called ἡ μαμμή, in modern Greek meaning a midwife.

This pot is used on Skyros to decorate pots and censers such as Pl. X, Fig. 2.3, the white wash being trickled out through the fine cane pipe set in low near the bottom. At the top the mouth is sealed by a gourd disk ; the canes seen projecting from a hole in it serve no function there, they are merely spares.

Pl. X, Fig. 3.3. Censer, 8.8 cm. high, in coarse yellowish gritty ware ; ten holes.

This came from Larnaca, Cyprus. The pottery seller deprecated my purchase of it as, he explained, it was for use at funerals.

Pl. X, Fig. 3.4. Censer, 7.5 cm. high, red rough gritty ware ; five holes.

This censer was bought in Rhodes from a travelling hawker in the market who directed me to the proper stall for the purchase of incense to burn in it. He had many curious braziers on his barrow, some very large, some only a little larger than the censers, with the bowl similarly pierced, two handles and a stemmed foot with a triangular hole in it.

It was the sight of the modern censers in the market at Rhodes, together with that of the pierced pots from Ialissos in the museum that led me to the conclusion that the ancient Palestinian forms are in all probability also censers.

THE SYRO-PALESTINIAN JAR FROM VOUNOUS, CYPRUS

By G. Ernest Wright
(Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Chicago)

In the July, 1939, number of the Quarterly (pp. 162–8), J. R. Stewart published an imported pot found in an Early Bronze Age tomb at Vounous, Cyprus. From the evidence derived from the Cyprian pottery he concluded that the grave " is not earlier than Early Cypriot Ic, nor are any of the pot shapes later than E.C. IIa. . . . The importance of the pot lies in the possibility of obtaining with its aid an approximate period for the transition from E.C. Ic to E.C. IIa, a transition of great cultural importance in the history of Cypriot ceramics. Further, it is at present the earliest imported pot found in Cyprus."

At the time of the discovery the excavator suggested that the jar's provenance was Palestine, and Dr. Fisher of the American School in Jerusalem was inclined to agree after his inspection of the original. Since the form is clearly not Cyprian, Cretan, Helladic, Cycladic, Egyptian or Cilician, a process of elimination points to Syria or Palestine, as Stewart suggested. Fisher felt that the date of the jar could " well be between 2800 and 2600 B.C.," though he could find nothing with which it could be directly compared. Harding, on the other hand, compared the form with M.B. I shapes in Palestine, which are indeed very similar, but Stewart showed such a late date to be out of the question because the other objects in the tomb were definitely earlier (*ibid.*, pp. 166–7).

It seems to the writer that the jar can be dated with some degree of confidence between about 2700 and 2500 B.C., in the third of the four phases of the Early Bronze Age, approximately contemporary with the early part of the Egyptian Old

Kingdom.[1] The shape of the jar in question is certainly typical of the Palestinian E.B.; and the high shoulder and high flaring-neck seem to fit best in the period of Stage I at Megiddo and Level XII of Beth-shan.[2] The handle on the jar (which really makes it a jug) is the only element which is not typical, as Fisher pointed out (*op. cit.*, p. 163), but handles of this sort were common and this particular specimen should offer no difficulty in the dating. The important elements are the high neck, flaring rim, the high shoulder, and the body proportions. These are very similar to type 16 A of Megiddo (Fig. 1:2), which first appears in Stage II, but it does not become common until Stage I when it was numerous enough to make it a reliable datum for the period.[3] A whole form of the type was found in the now well-known Ai sanctuary in which the imported alabaster bowls of Egyptian Second-Third Dynasty type were discovered (Fig. 1:3).[4]

Other jars of the same form are to be seen in Watzinger, *Jericho*, Blatt 20: A 2a; Bliss and Macalister, *Excavations in Palestine*, pl. 23:1 (from Tell es-Safi); and Macalister, Gezer I, p. 80, Fig. 26 (see also p. 99 for the description of the contents of Tomb 16 I). A comparison of the proportions of these jars is instructive: the ratio of diameter to height of the Cyprus jar is cir. 1:1.6; of the reconstructed Megiddo form,

[1] For the division of E.B. into four phases see the monograph by the writer, *The Pottery of Palestine from the Earliest Times to the End of the Early Bronze Age* (New Haven, 1937), pp. 72 ff. The aim there was the careful correlation of all the deposits in order that it might be possible to say something about the history of individual pottery forms. Certainly the stratigraphical and typological methods employed are the only objective means of fixing the rough chronological framework of an early culture devoid of inscriptions, and of delivering us from the ceramic "guesswork" which has caused so much confusion in the past.

[2] See *ibid.*, pp. 75–6 and 101, the discussion of Form G–VIIId. The discussion here is largely a repetition of material already presented there.

[3] Engberg and Shipton, *Notes on the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Pottery of Megiddo* (Chicago, 1934), p. 44.

[4] *Cf.* Mme. Marquet-Krause, *Syria* XVI (1935), pp. 325 ff., and pl. 56:28 (compare also Nos. 5 and 26). For the dating of the stone bowls, see Albright, *Jour. of the Pal. Oriental Soc.* XV (1935), pp. 209–10. They are to be compared with types IX and Xc of the Reisner corpus (see *Mycerinus*, pp. 148 f., 158 f., and 168 f.).

cir. 1:1.57 ; of the Ai form, cir. 1:1.5 ; of the Tell es-Safi jar, cir. 1:1.53 ; and of the Jericho jar, cir. 1:1.75.[1]

It is interesting to note that this type of jar appears in none of the deposits of E.B. I : that is, in such groups as Megiddo Stages VII–V, Beth-shan XV–XIV, Jericho VII–V, and the early caves and tombs of Gezer.[2] The jars from Gezer to which Fisher referred[3] are really not of the form under discussion, but belong to that type which has been called the " rail-rim " jar, a characteristic form of E.B. I.[4] The typical flaring-rim jar apparently does not appear before E.B. II, or possibly late in E.B. I ; but in its early form this jar is short and rather squat, represented by type 11 C of Megiddo Stages III–I (Fig. 1:1). A chronological aid in dating this early form of the flaring-rim jar is the presence of imported Syro-Palestinian jars of this type in First Dynasty tombs in Egypt.[5] Approximately contemporary levels at Jericho also produced examples of this early form.[6] At Beth-shan the flaring-rim seems to begin in Level XIII and continue into XII, but no whole specimens were found so that it is difficult from the published material to differentiate early and later forms.[7]

Reducing the above to absolute dates, we may say that the flaring-rim jar was apparently introduced about 3000 or 2900 B.C., about the time of the First Dynasty in Egypt or just before. But the typical high neck and shoulder of the Cyprus jar do not become characteristic until the time of the Ai sanctuary and Megiddo I (i.e., in E.B. III), about the twenty-sev-

[1] Of course the jar from Cyprus is not quite as large as some of the storage jars to which reference has been made above, since the form has been somewhat adapted for a jug ; but identity of form and similarity of proportions are much more important than size.

[2] That is, Caves 2 I, 19 I, 27 I, 3 III, 30 II, 15 I, and Tombs 56 and 42. For a discussion of the E.B. pottery of Gezer see the writer, *Pal. Explor. Quarterly*, 1937, pp. 67 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, July, 1939, p. 165 (and the drawing on pl. XXVIII : 3).

[4] *Cf.* Engberg and Shipton, *op. cit.*, type 16 B–F and S ; and the writer, *Pottery of Pal.*, p. 101, Form VIIIc.

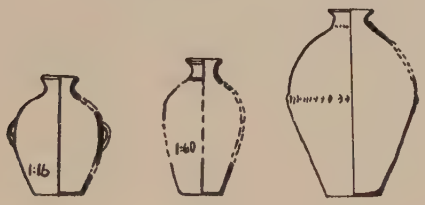
[5] *Cf.* Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynkhos*, pl. 4 : 9 ; *Abydos* I, pl. 8 : 6 ; and the discussion by the writer, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

[6] *Annals of Arch. and Anthropology* XXII (1935), pl. 27 : 15 and 25 (probably late E.B. I or E.B. II).

[7] FitzGerald, *Museum Journal* XXIV (1935), the discussion of Levels XIII and XII, especially p. 16.

enth to the twenty-fifth centuries, though it is possible that the form may have been introduced slightly earlier.[1] Consequently, Dr. Fisher's date for the Cyprus jar (2800–2600 B.C.) must be approximately correct, though we now have factual evidence in support of it. A somewhat safer dating, however, is twenty-seventh–twenty-sixth centuries, since we know that the form was common in Palestine in that period, whereas it was certainly rare before.

Since the Cyprian tomb group in which the pot was found is transitional between E.C. Ic and E.C. IIa, it is quite possible that the period represented by E.C. II may represent approximately the Palestinian phase which has here been called E.B. III, and that E.C. I may be roughly contemporary with E.B. II. This would be quite in accord with Mr. Stewart's remarks in *Antiquity*, March, 1939, pp. 126–8, where he was of the opinion that the northern movement which seems to have produced the Early Bronze Age in Palestine probably did not affect Cyprus, and that E.C. I probably began sometime after the beginning of the Palestinian E.B. I.



1. 2. 3.

[1] So we might judge from the fact that the neck and rim are to be found in Megiddo Stage II, though it is not common there. Stewart suggests a connection between the rim shape of the Cyprus jar and that of certain examples from Beth-shan XIII, but in view of the other evidence presented above the shape as a whole is seen to be more characteristic of the following period.

CORRESPONDENCE

28 Cavendish Road,
Henleaze,
Bristol,
29th July, 1940.

DEAR SIR,

Q.S. concerning P. and B., p. 99, et seq.

As a member of the Braille Missionary Union which writes in Braille many languages outside Europe, my attention is often called to various scripts ; though my especial study is Africa. May I be permitted a few remarks.

It may be possible that all scripts connected with India and this means the syllabic idea as against the spelling method (see below) will be found to represent " b " by a double form of " p " ; that the simplest form of " p " might be the Pali ⊔ and this in its turn might recall the two upright wedges noted at the top of p. 98 as a component of " b."

When this Pali form is rounded at the angles it may give the form of " p " in Kanarese and its allied Telugu script where the doubling of " p " to form " b " is even more evident than in Sanscrit.

But the more curious thing is that while Tamil has the Pali " p " symbol ⊔, it pronounces it so the grammar says as " b " ; and to represent " p " it writes the " p " symbol twice. If a word such as a name has to begin with " p " then a " p " is added at the end of the immediately preceding word. There is no special symbol for " b " in Tamil.

But there are several things to be remembered. European ideas centre on spelling and preserve the conventional names for the letters. Is not our Eng. pi, French pe, Greek pai but a reflection of the Hebrew name for the letter as an " open mouth " ? Pali was spoken during the seventh century B.C. according to the Enc. Brit. (s.v. Pali) and Indian writing is referred back to the fourth century B.C. Perhaps it was earlier. (Read for example *Indo-Sumerian Seals*, Col. Waddell.)

In this script, the *sound*, and not the conventional name, is the basis ; so the simplest form of the letter is the consonant with the vowel " A " sounded with it—pa, ba. Does not this syllabic method itself somewhat modify the clear sound which we Europeans think we give to each consonant ?

In writing Braille one cannot but be struck by the persistent way our European correspondents cling to the spelling idea, even in Africa where the great Bantu field is characterized by the fact that every syllable ends in a vowel. There is a correspondent using Braille in an important Bantu language who utterly spoils the work by forcing into it the English Braille symbol for " and," because the print has the combination " nd " ; there is no such thing as " and " in Africa, but a nasalized " d " as in India giving such syllables as a-ndu, never and-u.

Further, there is a sort of sub-conscious feeling that our method of writing is the result of centuries of experience. So the very able and scholarly Oriental Braille is not willingly taken up. Everywhere there is a preference to use the conventional English letters most nearly like the native sound and give the Braille for that letter, not for the more scientific Oriental Braille idea, a great disappointment to the originators and the influential support accorded them. Yet it is a fact. Your p/b question needs to be considered from many angles.

Yours faithfully,
W. A. CRABTREE.

Native Scripts : Besides modern grammars, there are carefully made tables in Bagster, *The Bible in many lands* (1851).

Tibet : The script was introduced by a Buddhist monk in the eighth century A.D. Its " p " sign is ྤ and " b " ྦ : both like the Pali ပ and ဗ.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

One Hundred New Selected Nuzi Texts. Transliterated by Robert H. Pfeiffer. With Translations and Commentary by E. A. Speiser. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, vol. xvi for 1935–1936. New Haven, 1936.

The province of Arrapkha lies on the eastern bank of the middle Tigris. Considerable light has been shed on its early antiquity by the mass of cuneiform material unearthed in recent years in Nuzu, which is located about ten miles south-west of the ancient city of Arrapkha. We learn from this that at the time of Sargon of Agade the population of the province was overwhelmingly Semitic. Their culture was very much the same as that of southern Mesopotamia, and they used the cuneiform script and the old Akkadian language. This condition seems to have obtained down to the beginning of the eighteenth century B.C. Archaeological evidence is not again forthcoming till the fifteenth century, the preceding three centuries being unrepresented by the discoveries, and the scene has changed completely. The dominant population of the province is now of Subarean origin, while the Semitic inhabitants are kept in a subordinate position. Cuneiform continues to be used as a means of writing, but Akkadian has lost its purity, having been influenced by the Hurrian language both in vocabulary and grammar.

It is from the material belonging to this second period of Arrapkha that the texts published in the volume under review (to be referred to as SNT) have been selected. In point of fact, the present volume is not the first one to deal with sources coming from Nuzu. (Previous research into these sources include extensive studies, among others, by Gadd in RA xxiii. and by Chiera and Speiser in JAOS xlvii, lii and liii.) SNT, however, has some novel points which amply justify its publication. The authors have avoided a haphazard conglomeration of sources ; instead, they have filled almost one half of

the book with two " archives," one of fourteen and the other of thirty-one documents.[1] A third group of documents, Nos. 46–50, consists of inventories registering the quantities of oil which were apportioned to various deities. These texts reveal to us certain aspects of the temple administration at Nuzu and, what is more important still, acquaint us, for the first time in such detail, with the Nuzu pantheon. Among the remainder of the texts there are very few that would not be of some particular interest for one reason or another, thus supplementing the knowledge which we have gained about Arrapkha from previous publications.

Besides giving a clear insight into the social and cultural conditions of the community, the documents of the present volume bear out what has already been recognized, namely the great difference between the civilization of Hurrian Nuzu in the fifteenth century and that of Semitic Gasur (the original name of Nuzu) in the Sargonic and later periods. To give a comprehensive account of that difference would carry us beyond the limits of a review. Moreover, such a task presupposes some preliminary studies which have as yet to come. We shall therefore be content with making a few remarks on *ditennûtu* and *martûtu u kallatûtu*, two institutions which are the subject of a number of documents in SNT.

The etymology of *ditennûtu* is still disputed, some scholars taking the term as Hurrian and others as Semitic. A diversity of opinion is also noticeable with regard to its legal rendering : Gadd translates it by " loan," Koschaker by " eine gegenseitige Gabe " or " usufruct," and Speiser by " possession," adding that " the transaction is based on antichretic security."[2]

[1] The first of these is of an official nature. It consists of court records embodying a series of charges (bribery, embezzlement, immoral behaviour) which the court of Nuzu heard against Kushshiharbe, the ex-mayor of the city. Prof. Speiser rightly says that this group of documents " is of unique interest to the students of ancient history, and especially to the historian of ancient government." The second group comes from the archives of a private family at the head of which stood Tulpunnaya, a woman of remarkable energy and ubiquity. Again in Speiser's words, " although limited in number, the group is fairly representative, so much so that it may serve as a convenient introduction to the varieties of Nuzi legal material for those who have not had previous experience with the Nuzi texts."

[2] SNT, p. 72, note 29.

In JAOS, lii, 355f. the last mentioned scholar describes *ditennûtu* as a transaction in which " two sets of values change hands. A gives to B certain fields, or he assigns to him for servitude a member or members of his family, himself, or one or more of his servants. In return B hands over to A a definite capital (*kaspu*) which may consist of gold, bronze, copper, lead, grain, domestic animals, wool, articles of clothing and the like."

It may be added that a clause is embodied in practically all the *ditennûtu* documents to the effect that on the day (not always definitely fixed by the parties) when A returns the *kaspu* to B, B will release the *ditennu* to A. An actual case of dissolution of a *ditennûtu* transaction, the first one that came to the notice of the reviewer, is recorded in SNT No. 67, where a field is handed back to its former owner.

Whether the transaction was really based on the principle of antichretic security is somewhat doubtful, since, in such a case, the equivalent *kaspu*, for instance, recorded in SNT No. 62, for an individual made into a *ditennu* for a period of five years, would be ridiculously small. However, we are concerned with the sociological rather than with the juristic significance of *ditennûtu*. As an institution it seems to have been practised only in Arrapkha, and not in any other country of the ancient East. The numerous documents dealing with it justify the following observations. In the vast majority of instances, the " values " given in *ditennûtu* are human beings ; then come fields, while money is very rarely referred to as such. Of the human beings given in *ditennûtu*, again, the vast majority are freeborn persons while slaves are only occasionally used for the transaction. These freeborn persons, too, were always of the male sex ; as far as we could ascertain, no freeborn woman is recorded ever to have been made a *ditennu*.

Viewed against the background of the social conditions in Arrapkha, our three observations acquire a greater significance than they appear to have at first sight. As in all the ancient East, the community of Arrapkha was divided into two social sections, the freeborn and the slaves. Whereas, however, in other countries, there was a possibility of a freeborn person forfeiting his freedom and becoming a slave, there was apparently no such possibility in Arrapkha. Among the several score of documents recording sales and purchases

of slaves we have been unable to find any reference to a free-born man or woman being sold into slavery.[1] The slave class in Nuzu, as is evident from the local cuneiform sources, was mainly recruited from among the *ḫabîrî* and people hailing from Mesopotamia in the west and Nullu in the east. It is also concerning these people, coming from foreign places, that it is frequently stated in the documents that "they have entered into slavery of their own free will." But no such statement is ever made of a freeborn Hurrian citizen. This fact may point to the existence of a tribal custom among the Hurrian inhabitants which forbade the enslavement of a man of their own nationality.

That such a custom could have existed is not inconceivable.[2] It would mean that a member of a freeborn family was inalienable.[3] It may, however, be suggested that the institution of *ditennûtu*, just as the sale-adoption in cases of real estate, was invented or exploited for the purpose of evading the prevalent custom. Consequently, even freeborn Hurrians could be handed over for work to their fellow-citizens. SNT No. 25, for instance, records a case of a Hurrian who surrendered himself into *ditennûtu* for a period of fifty years. Speiser jestingly remarks on p. 78 that the *ditennu* may not have lived to celebrate the jubilee. The fact remains, however, that the Nuzu texts never describe a freeborn Hurrian as becoming a slave, *ardu*, or as entering into slavery, *ardûtu*.

[1] Gadd, op. cit., 52 has often been quoted as such a reference. (*Cf.* Koschaker, *Neue Keilschriftliche Urkunden aus der Tel-Amarna Zeit*, p. 53; Saarisalo, *New Kirkuk Documents relating to Slaves*, p. 75). The first seven lines of this text, however, are very badly mutilated, and it is impossible to say whether the man who sells his daughter as a hand-maid is himself a free-born person or a slave. That the second alternative is the more likely is supported by SNT, No. 52, where an instance is recorded of a slave-father disposing of his daughter for a price.

[2] It is noteworthy that similarly in later Rome a citizen could not be made a slave unless he were to be sold *trans Tiberim*.

[3] Another instance of inalienability is seen in Arrapkha with regard to possessions of real estate. The Nuzu documents do not record any sale or purchase of fields. But this custom, as has already been recognized, was circumvented by the practice of sale-adoption, through which the vendor was able to transfer his estate to the buyer under the guise of adoption, and to receive from him, as from his adopted son, the full price in the form of a pecuniary "gift."

Even when a certain *ditennu* feels that there is no way out for him, he does not say that he has resigned himself to becoming a slave, only that " of my own will I have cast myself into chains," *ra-ma-ni-ma ra-ma-ni i-na še-ir-še-ir-ri-ti i-it-ta-an-ni*, SNT No. 29. Speiser renders *šeršerêti* by " bondage " and observes that the document contains " a formal statement concerning the transition from the status of a *ditennu* to that of a slave proper." This is no doubt the purport of the tablet, but neither *ardu* nor *ardûtu* is used here to indicate that the Hurrian in question became a slave proper.

As already mentioned, freeborn women, although not liable to be sold into actual slavery, were never surrendered into *ditennûtu*. The reason can only be conjectured. This institution, theoretically at least, implied the release of the *ditennu* after a certain length of time. A woman, however, when in the employment of someone else, could be made to marry a slave of the employer and to bear children whose status would be that of slaves proper. *Ditennûtu*, then, may not have afforded the employer sufficient security that the female *ditennu* would remain in his household long enough to be of much use. He preferred to adopt her on the basis of a *martûtu u kallatûtu* contract. She would thus become his " daughter and daughter-in-law," with the possibility of being married to the adopter himself or to his son. In reality, however, this was not a genuine adoption, and the only course that was left open to the woman was that of being coupled with one of the adopter's slaves. This possibility is nearly always provided for in the adoption contracts of this type, and although the woman herself is never described as a hand-maid, *amtu*, she would nevertheless have to live with slaves. SNT No. 23, for instance, lays down that even " if ten of her slave-husbands should die, she would be given as wife to an eleventh one," *šum-ma* 10 *awelûti mu-uz-za-šu im-tu-ut u* 11 *awêla a-na aš-šu-ti i-na-an-din*.

Thus the two institutions, *ditennûtu* for freeborn men and *martûtu u kallatûtu* for freeborn women, combined to counterbalance the lack of internal labour supply which may have been caused by the custom of inalienability of freeborn citizens.

The attention of students has already been drawn to the

fact that the civilization of fifteenth century Arrapkha exhibits definite resemblances to that which is reflected in the Old Testament. Thus it has been possible to throw light on a number of incidents in the lives of the Patriarchs, and, by comparing them to the social customs in Nuzu, to recognize in them a substantial element of historical accuracy.[1] In this connection it is worth mentioning that our present volume, too, includes one document which bears on the subject. This is SNT No. 76 recording a legal suit that has arisen out of the custom of gleaning in strange fields, a custom which is laid down as a law in Lev. xix, 9 f. The importance of this document is the greater as it deals with a matter bearing on the legislative rather than on the narrative side of the Pentateuch.[2] We are inclined to believe that with the publication of additional material from Nuzu, it will be possible to establish further cultural affinities between the Hurrians of Arrapkha and the early Hebrews. This belief is based on the fact that the *ḫabîrî*, ethnically related to the *ʿibrîm* of the Old Testament, lived in Arrapkha among the Hurrians and no doubt absorbed and adapted many of their social and legal traditions. Two such traditions are probably incorporated in Lev. xxv, 23 ff., concerning the inalienability of land, and in Lev. xxv, 39 ff., concerning the inalienability of freeborn Israelites. Both these prohibitions are strongly reminiscent of the similar two cases of inalienability in Arrapkha, to which reference has been made above. The two cultures, however, differ with regard to the solution of the problems which may have arisen from these legal restrictions. The Hurrian sale-adoption is replaced in the biblical law by the permission to sell the usufruct of the field, and the institution of *ditennûtu* by the possibility of hiring a freeborn person for a period of six years.

In concluding our remarks in connection with SNT, we should like to offer a few technical corrections. Prof. Pfeiffer restores the word *mâr* in No. 3, l. 15, thus making Haniyu

[1] *Cf.* Speiser, *Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the 2nd Millennium B.C.*, p. 43 f. ; Gordon, *Parallèles nouziens aux lois et coutûmes de l'Ancien Testament* (Revue Sémitique, 1935), p. 30 f.

[2] *Cf.* also Mendelsohn, JAOS, vol. lv, p. 191 f., where an attempt is made to compare the *martûtu u kallatûtu* institution with Ex. xxi, 7 f., concerning the sale of a Hebrew woman into slavery.

" the son of " Ziliptilla. It seems rather than Haniyu complains here against Ziliptilla, just as Kintar does it in the preceding part of the same document, l. 6 ff., and as is evident from No. 7, l. 42, where the same individual is accused as an accomplice of Kushshiharbe the main defendant. The word *šipâti* in No. 91, l. 3, is obviously a slip for *šeâti*. In the translation, l. 39 of No. 3 is omitted; the following phrase should be inserted: " he accepted one male sheep and released me." In No. 7, l. 24, the name Ehliteshup is wrongly substituted for the original *Eḫ-li-ip-a-pu*, and similarly in No. 30, l. 3, the name Arimmatka for the original *Ḫa-ši-ma-at-ka*. No. 7, l. 46 is to be rendered " and they took away the reed mats for Kushshiharbe," and not " and Kushshiharbe took away the reed mats." Finally, No. 94, l. 1 f. should read : " Thus Ziryazzana son of Paitilla : ' The father of Zigi son of Taitilla (namely) Taitilla . . . '," instead of " Thus Ziryazzana son of Paitilla, father of Zigi son of Taitilla : ' Taitilla . . . '."

The volume closes with Prof. Speiser's two appendices, the second being particularly valuable on account of its inquiry into *The Linguistic Substratum at Nuzi*. There is also an index of the items discussed in the notes, by the same scholar, and a list of personal names prepared by Dr. P. M. Purves.

The work is dedicated to the distinguished scholar Professor James Alan Montgomery, in honour of his seventieth birthday.

IZAAK RAPAPORT.

The British Consulate in Jerusalem in Relation to the Jews of Palestine (1838–1914). Part I, 1838–1861. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by Albert M. Hyamson, O.B.E., F.R.Hist.S. London, Edward Goldston, Ltd., 1939. One guinea.

This publication is sponsored by *The Jewish Historical Society of London*. Mr. Hyamson has already dealt to some extent with this subject in a paper, " Britain's Protection of Foreign Jews in Palestine," read at a meeting of the above society eleven years ago.

He has had special opportunities, as when a resident in Jerusalem he had in his custody the archives of the British Consulate, as far as they had survived.

The first British Vice-Consul was appointed in 1838 (five years before other European powers had representation) and among other things he was instructed to afford protection to the Jews generally. The protection of the Jews remained for many years the principal concern of the British Consulate in Jerusalem. " The usual laws of international relations did not in those days apply to the dealings of the European Powers with Turkey," and " in fact Palmerston's instructions " (at the first) " if literally interpreted went so far as to grant protection —against their own government—to subjects of the Ottoman government still resident in its dominions." A special class, more logically needing protection, were Russian Jews who actually had lost Russian protection and many of these became British-protected subjects before Russia (in 1839) suddenly revived an interest in its own subjects. As the situation became clarified the Consul was directed by the F.O. not to interfere officially with the local authorities except in the case of those entitled to British protection, but that, in the case of the broader question of the treatment of Jews generally, he should make representations to H.M. Ambassador in Constantinople, who would if necessary approach the Sublime Porte. Such representations were made in connection with the ritual murder accusation against the Jews of Damascus in 1840. Out of the general friendliness of the British Government arose the idea, not only among the Jews, but among the English missionaries, that a Jewish convert to Christianity was *ipso facto* under British protection. A dispatch by Palmerston, approved by Queen Victoria, very strongly repudiated this point of view.

In 1845, the Consul, W. T. Young, was succeeded by James Finn, " an enthusiastic pro-Jew, who was, amid much opposition by both Turks and the orthodox Rabbis, during seventeen years ardently desirous to be recognized as the official protector and to some extent ruler of the Jewish population." Finn was anxious to take under his protection as many of the Russian Jews as possible, but the F.O. pointed out that he must make no Russian Jew a British protected subject unless he produced a kind of letter of dismissal from the Russian authorities. Nevertheless many Jews were taken under British protection—a protection which was at one time defined as extending to the third generation. In 1864 the Jews of

Jerusalem presented a petition to the Secretary of State to be taken *en masse* under British protection. But as the years went on the British authorities at home became increasingly loth to assume such responsibilities for Jews who had no possible national connection with England and (to anticipate the contents of Part I) on 1st January, 1890, the greater part of such protected subjects (1,456 in number) passed out of British protection while those that remained did so in the face of the ill will of the Turks.

The immigration of Jews into Palestine was a subject sympathetically recommended for encouragement as far back as 1840 by Viscount Palmerston, who wrote: "I have to instruct Your Excellency strongly to recommend (the Turkish Government) to hold out every just encouragement to the Jews of Europe to return to Palestine." In 1842, Dr. A. Benisch—an Austrian Jew—was invited by the F.O. to put his plan on the subject in the form of a long memorandum—here given in extenso. Consul Finn approached the F.O. in 1857 with a scheme whereby "a large body of Jews" was to settle in Palestine as agriculturalists.

There is much in the correspondence relating to difficulties and disputes between the very orthodox Rabbinical authorities and the Anglican Bishop and British missionaries. A number of exciting incidents occurred when the Rabbis refused to permit burial in the Jewish cemetery of Jews who had died in the mission hospital described as "the hospital of the Freemasons," or who, though themselves orthodox Jews, had been employed by the missionaries. A similar method of putting pressure was exercised by the Rabbis upon certain Jews who were in arrears in payment of certain fees. The correspondence is also enlivened by many incidents connected with murder and divorce, by questions of inheritance and disputed wills and sidelights on the misgovernment of the country generally and the insecurity of life and property, e.g. at Hebron. A noticeable event is the arrival of the famous English Jew, Sir Moses Montefiore with his philanthropic gifts, which led to the erection of the "colony" now called after him.

Mr. Hyamson has done a good service in publishing these historic documents. All those interested in the history of Palestine during the nineteenth century would do well to study

these interesting, and often lively and picturesque, documents.

E.W.G.M.

The Megiddo Ivories. By Gordon Loud. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications, volume LII.

A sumptuous volume which deserves the highest praise. The text is admirably concise : it consists of a sensible note on Phoenician ivories in general, a detailed account of the context in which the ivories were found at Megiddo, notes on the dating and character of the group, on the Hieroglyphic inscriptions (this by Professor John A. Wilson), and a summary catalogue which gives little more than the subject, thickness and present location of each plaque. The ivory fragments numbering 382 are shown on sixty-three large plates, many of them double plates : each photograph has been taken natural size and where necessary explanatory drawings on the same scale and photographic enlargements of details have been added.

The group is miscellaneous in character and date, a fact which suggests to Mr. Loud that the ivories which compose it were collected from various sources by a prince of Megiddo who made a hobby of collecting such things. They were found in a three-roomed subterranean treasury under a palace which was probably destroyed about 1150 B.C. Some of the pieces had been broken before being added to the collection, several had clearly been wrenched from articles of furniture, and from the position in which they were found in the principal room Mr. Loud thinks that they had once been arranged on shelves round the walls.

Besides the fragments from pieces of furniture, the collection included a splendid box, combs, bowls, game-boards and game-pieces, a pen-box with an inscription of Ramses III and some other inscribed fragments which appear to have belonged once to a woman of Ascalon. Some pieces are close in date to the time of the destruction of the palace, others may be two centuries earlier. One of the most remarkable pieces is a plaque with registers of Hittite figures (No. 44 on Pl. XI) : the Hittite home of the motives on this plaque is plain but, as Mr. Loud acutely points out (p. 11), the Phoenician workmanship is equally plain ; it can only have been made at a time when Hittite influences were dominant in Syria, that is in all

probability during the second half of the fourteenth century after the decay of Egyptian power under Ikhnaton about 1350 B.C. and the conquest of Seti some fifty years later. Like the ivories from Samaria these represent various techniques ; some plaques are in low relief, others in open work, others merely incised, some had glass insets, others were stained yellow, but there is little further similarity between the two collections which, as the editor remarks, is hardly surprising since they are separated by about three hundred years. In both collections, however, we do find the Canaanite-Phoenician workman stamping his own peculiar cachet in the same fashion on foreign motives : Hittite and earlier Egyptian motives are treated at Megiddo in the same way as later Egyptian motives at Samaria. In this connection we have nothing but praise for the drawings and restorations which have been contributed to the volume by Mr. G. P. Frazer : they may give little aesthetic pleasure to those who look at them with eyes accustomed to Egyptian work but they seem to me, like the coloured restoration which I prefixed to the Samaria publication, to have caught the Phoenician spirit.

J. W. CROWFOOT.

Early Pottery of the Jebeleh Region. By ANN M. H. EHRICH. Memoirs, Vol. XIII, December, 1939. Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society. 129 pp., 24 plates, 3 figures. Paper, $2.00.

DURING the past decade excavations at such sites as Byblos, Ugarit, Hamath, and Tell ej-Judeideh have brought Syria into the forefront of archaeological activity. The civilization of this long neglected region proves to have been much more advanced in the earliest historical ages than had previously been suspected ; Syria was already occupied by prosperous sedentary communities before we find any trace of such occupation in the Nile valley or in Babylonia. In this carefully prepared and fully documented study Dr. Ehrich gives the first detailed account of the stratigraphy of any site in Syria. The two mounds which she describes were examined by Dr. E. Forrer in 1934 ; their evidence makes it possible to interpret the stratigraphy of the neighbouring mound of Ugarit (Ras Shamra), whose lacunae of occupation are filled by the new

evidence from Jebeleh. Dr. Ehrich's monograph is indispensable to historians of antiquity and to archaeologists working in the ancient Near East ; it will also be welcome to all archaeologists as an illustration of the applicability of the new technique of petrographic analysis to Near Eastern ceramics.

The Committee have to acknowledge with thanks the following :

Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, December, 1939.
The Expository Times, July, 1940.
The Antiquaries Journal, July, 1940.
Journal of the Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, June, 1940.
American Journal of Archaeology, January–March, 1940.
Journal of the American Oriental Society, June, 1940.
The Jewish Quarterly Review, July, 1940.
American Journal of Philology, July, 1940.
Quarterly of the Palestine Department of Antiquities. Supp. to Vol. IX.
Bible Lands, July, 1940.
NEA ΣΙΩΝ, July–September, 1940.
Palestine Portrayed, by S. W. Gentle-Cackett.

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS

HEBREW

Hebrew	English		Hebrew	English	
א	’		כ ך	kh	
ב	b		ל	l	
ב	bh		מ ם	m	
ג	g		נ ן	n	
ג	gh		ס	s	
ד	d		ע	‘	
ד	dh		פ ף	p	
ה	h		פ ף	f	
ו	v, w		צ ץ	z	
ז	z		ק	k	
ח	h		ר	r	
ט	t		ש	sh	
י	y		ש	s	
כ	k		ת	t	
			ת	th	

ARABIC

Arabic	English		Arabic	English	
ا	’		ض	d	
ب	b		ط	t	
ت	t		ظ	tz	
ث	th		ع	‘	
ج	g	or j in Syrian Arabic.	غ	gh	
ح	h		ف	f	
خ	kh		ق	k	
د	d		ك	k	
ذ	dh		ل	l	
ر	r		م	m	
ز	z		ن	n	
س	s		ه	h	
ش	sh		و	w	
ص	z		ي	y	

Long vowels marked thus :—ā, ē, ī, ō, ū

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

ANNUAL REPORT

AND ACCOUNTS

WITH

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS

FOR THE YEAR 1940

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND
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PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1940

The war has over-shadowed all the activities of the P.E.F., as it has affected the work of all other societies in Great Britain. But it is pleasant to be able to report that the Fund is still able to carry on some of its functions, and that the great body of subscribers continue to support it. For this continued support the Executive Committee desire to tender their grateful thanks and to assure members of the Fund that nothing will be wanting on their part to ensure that the work, which will be conducted with all proper regard to the situation created by the war, shall be completely revived when the war is over.

Although the matter more strictly comes within the year 1941, it is only right to record the fact that the late Miss Alice Anne White, of Edinburgh, who died on the 21st January, 1941, by her will bequeathed a legacy of one thousand pounds, free of duty, to the Fund. This sum will be payable in July next, and will be invested by the Committee in Defence Bonds.

The Committee regret that Bishop Linton Smith, lately Bishop of Rochester. has found it necessary to retire from the Executive Committee, owing to the distance from London of his present residence. He remains, however, Chairman of the Joint Committee for the supervision of the Archaeological Survey of Palestine : but, of course, this Survey is at present in abeyance.

The Committee also regret the retirement from the Committee of Professor Sidney Smith, who will however, they are glad to learn, continue to contribute to the *Quarterly*.

It had been hoped to issue vol. 1 of the *Samaria-Sebaste* series of volumes before the close of 1940, but the reduced financial resources of the Fund entail some adjustment of our expenditure by spreading the cost of publication over a longer period than was anticipated. The MSS and illustrations were, for the most part completed by the authors during the year, and the press work and publication will it is hoped be completed in 1941 at a pace depending upon our resources.

In response to a request from the Director of the Department of Civil Aviation in Palestine, the Fund has transferred to that Department the original meteorological observations made in Palestine by the late James Glaisher, Dr. W. Torrance and others over a period of thirty years down to 1914. The duty of making observations has since passed to the Government of Palestine, whose Department wish to make their collection of data as complete as possible from all available sources.

In September, it was deemed advisable to revert to the arrangement made at the beginning of the war, and abandoned for a time, of transacting the business of the Fund from the Leatherhead address of the Assistant Secretary, with weekly attendance at 2, Hinde Street as circumstances permit. This arrangement works satisfactorily and effects a saving of time otherwise spent in travel to and from London and enables Mr. Ovenden to do duty as an Air Raid Warden and in other directions of war effort. The office handyman, C. Coulson became a whole time warden, in another part of London, in August. The address of the Assistant Secretary is—" Bransome," Keswick Road, Fetcham, Leatherhead, Surrey.

The Committee desire to express their thanks to the contributors of articles and reviews to the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*. Amongst these contributors we would mention : Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, Mr E. Epstein, Mr. C. J. Gadd, Mr. T. H. Gaster, Prof. Nelson Glueck, Rev. Dr. J. W. Jack, Mr. C. N. Johns, Sir Arthur Keith, Mr. H. H. Rowley, Dr. E. L. Sukenik, Dr. D. Winton Thomas and Mr. G. Ernest Wright. The Editor, Prof. S. H. Hooke, has been able, in spite of inevitable difficulties, to maintain the high standard of the *Quarterly* ; the Committee and Editor would especially welcome contributions from those who may have special knowledge of the many varied aspects of the study of Palestine and the Near East.

As will be seen from the Statement of Receipts and Payments, the anticipated fall in income has been realized—one of the consequnces of the war. Nevertheless by the exercise of careful economy, whenever this was found possible without harm to the interests of the Fund, and in consequence of an evitable reduction in activity, the financial position at the end of the year is practically the same as at the beginning. The year 1941 must however see further changes—loss of income from rent, four quarters' payment for the *Quarterly* instead of three this year and also a larger payment on account of the *Samaria-Sebaste* volume. To meet this situation the Committee relies on the support of subscribers and other friends of the Fund.

Signed on behalf of the Executive Committee, 10th March, 1941.

C. F. Arden-Close, *Chairman.*
C. B. Mortlock, *Hon. Secretary.*

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

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ISSUED—10 Shares of £1 each—not called		—
SUNDRY CREDITORS—For Current Expenses		102 19 1
SURPLUS OF ASSETS OVER LIABILITIES :—		
(Excluding Donated Property) as per last Balance Sheet	1,796 5 8	
Add Surplus for year	50 8 5	
		1,846 14 1
		£1,949 13 2

C. F. ARDEN-CLOSE, *Chairman.*

A. M. HYAMSON, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Assets.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
FREEHOLD PROPERTY—DONATED—No. 2 Hinde Street (Estimated value £5,000)		—
ALTERATIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS No. 2 Hinde Street as per last Balance Sheet ...		1,188 17 5
MUSEUM, LIBRARY AND STORE-ROOM, FIXTURES, FITTINGS, FURNITURE, ETC. (as per last Balance Sheet)		382 2 7
JEWISH COLONIAL TRUST—DONATED—50 Ordinary Shares of £1 each, fully paid		—
STOCK OF PUBLICATIONS, MAPS, BOOKS, MODELS, LANTERN SLIDES, LIBRARY, ANTIQUES, FURNITURE, ETC.		—
SUNDRY DEBTORS		12 6 8
SUBSCRIPTIONS IN ARREAR		53 11 0
CASH :—		
*At Bank	£238 13 6	
In Hand	74 2 0	
		312 15 6
		£1,949 13 2

* Includes £25 donated in 1939 for purchase of Committee Table in memory of the late H. Coote Lake, Esq.

RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31st DECEMBER, 1940

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.
To Balance—31st December, 1939	191	1	5
,, Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies	470	5	10
,, Sale of Publications :	50	12	9
,, Rent of Upper Floors and Basement, No. 2, Hinde Street	325	0	0
Legacy bequeathed by the late Miss S. M. Talbot	50	0	0
	£1,087	0	0

PAYMENTS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Printing, including QUARTERLY (Nos. 3), Annual Report, Postage and despatch				173	11	3
,, Editor's fee				37	10	0
,, "Early Ivories from Samaria" (binding)				8	10	0
,, "Samaria-Sebaste" blocks ...				82	18	4
,, Books purchased for Library ...				3	17	3
,, Relief Map, Lantern Slides and Photographs				5	6	0
,, Repairs and Maintenance ...				17	6	11
,, Salaries and Wages				395	18	2
,, Postages and Telephone				18	17	8
,, Insurances				5	14	7
,, Water Rates				6	11	10
,, Lighting and Heating				6	6	9
,, Stationery and Sundries				6	1	10
,, Audit Fee				5	5	0
,, Cheque Books and Bank Charges					8	11
				£774	4	6
,, Cash : At Bank (31st Dec., 1940	238	13	6			
,, In hand (31st Dec., 1940	74	2	0			
				312	15	6
				£1,087	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Receipts for year, as shown above	895	18	7
Less: Arrears of last year's subscriptions, etc., received during 1940	70	16	1
	£825	2	6
Add: Arrears, etc., at 31st December, 1940, as shown by Balance Sheet	65	17	8
	£891	0	2

	£	s.	d.
Payments for year, as shown above	774	4	6
Less: Creditors at 31st December, 1939, paid during 1940	36	11	10
	£737	12	8
Add: Creditors at 31st December, 1940, as shown by Balance Sheet	102	19	1
	840	11	9
To Balance as shown by Balance Sheet	50	8	5
	£891	0	2

AUDITORS' REPORT TO THE MEMBERS OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

We report that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required as Auditors. We have examined and compared the above Balance Sheet and the Receipts and Payments Account with the books and vouchers of the Fund, and, in our opinion, they are properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the affairs of the Fund, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us and as shewn by the books of the Fund.

19 COLEMAN STREET,
LONDON, E.C.2.
23rd May, 1941.

TURQUAND, YOUNGS, MCAULIFFE & CO.
Chartered Accountants,

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

RECEIVED BETWEEN JANUARY 1st AND DECEMBER 31st, 1940, INCLUSIVE.

*** If any omission or mistake be observed in the following lists, the Secretary will be very glad to be informed of it, and will rectify the error in the next Annual Report.

	£	s.	d.
Adler, E. N., Esq.	0	10	6
Alford, Miss M.	1	1	0
Arden-Close, Sir Charles ...	2	2	0
Armitage, Robert, Esq. ...	2	2	0
Ashmole, Prof. Bernard ...	1	1	0
Balston, Miss F. C. ...	1	1	0
Barnett, R. D., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Barvois, Rev. A. G. ...	1	1	0
Barron, Mrs.	1	1	0
Bate, Miss D. M.	1	1	0
Batho, Miss D.	2	2	0
Bayley, Arthur R., Esq. ...	2	2	0
Beasley, Walter, Esq. ...	4	4	0
Becke, Major A. F. ...	1	1	0
Beeman, G. B., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Belmore, The Earl of ...	1	1	0
Bentwich, Prof. N.	1	1	0
Bentzen, Prof. A. ...	0	15	9
Birnbaum, Dr. S.	1	1	0
Blair, Dr. D. P.	1	1	0
Blomberg, G., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Blyth, Miss Estelle	1	1	0
Boulton, W. H., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Bramwell, W., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Bristow, Ernest, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Brown, James, Esq., Jr. ...	2	2	0
Bugbee, Dr. Lucius ...	1	4	6
Burdon, Rev. R. J. ...	1	1	0
Bushell, W. F., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Buxton, Dr. P. A.	1	1	0
Caiger, Rev. S. L.	1	1	0
Cairns, Rev. Dr. W. T. ...	0	10	6
Caullie, Lt.-Col. A. G. ...	1	1	0
Catterson, S. M., Esq. ...	2	2	0
Chalmers-Hunt, D. R., Esq.	1	1	0
Clarke, Col. N. P.	1	1	0
Cole, S. C., Esq.	1	1	0
Commissariat of the Holy Land	1	1	0
Crabtree, Rev. W. A. ...	1	1	0
Crace, Mrs.	2	2	0
Crace, J. F., Esq.	1	1	0
Crawford, L., Esq.	1	1	0
Crawford, O. G. S., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Crowfoot, J. W., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Carried forward	£55	11	3

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	55	11	3
Curson, Miss D. L.	1	1	0
Curwen, B. H., Esq. ...	1	12	4
Curwen, Dr. E. Cecil ...	1	1	0
Curwen, Dr. Elliot	2	2	0
Daiches, Dr. S.	1	1	0
Davies, Miss A. M.	1	1	0
Deacon, J. F. W., Esq. ...	2	2	0
Dirk Pons & Co., Messrs. ...	1	1	0
Dixon, Rev. H. L.	1	1	0
Du Boulay, Brig.-Gen. W.H.	1	1	0
Dulau, Mons. P.	1	1	0
Edwards, Rev. A. H. ...	1	1	0
Edwards, W. C., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Elsdon, Miss S. M.	1	1	0
Elvins, Rev. S. W. G. ...	2	2	0
Evans, E. M. P., Esq. ...	1	1.	0
Eves, G. W., Esq.	1	1	0
Falconer, Harold, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Finn, Miss C. M.	1	1	0
Firminger, Rev. W. K. ...	1	1	0
FitzGerald, G. M., Esq. ...	2	2	0
Fleming, A., Esq.	1	0	0
Fothergill, Dr. Claud ...	1	1	0
Fox, Lady	1	1	0
Frank, Miss	1	1	0
Freshfield, The Misses ...	1	1	0
Gabriel, J. W. W., Esq. ...	2	0	0
Gamble, Rev. H. J. ...	1	1	0
Gardiner, Dr. A. H. ...	2	2	0
Gardner, Miss H.	2	2	0
Garner, Rev. H.	1	1	0
Garnett, Rev. T. A. ...	1	1	0
Garstang, Prof. J.	2	2	0
Gentle-Cackett, Rev. S. W.	1	1	0
Gerstley, Mrs.	2	2	0
Geuthner, M. Paul... ...	1	1	0
Gibson, D., Esq.	2	4	10
Goadby, Dr. F. M.	1	1	0
Gold, Mrs.	1	1	0
Goodenough, Admiral Sir W.	1	1	0
Green, F. W., Esq.	1	1	0
Griffin, Dr. F. W. W. ...	0	10	6
Griffin, H. J. S., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Carried forward	£111	4	11

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	111	4	11
Gubb, Mrs. A. M.	1	1	0
Gurney, Oliver R., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Hammond, Col. F. S. ...	4	4	0
Harrison, Miss W. A. ...	0	10	6
Hay, Major A. E.	1	1	0
Haycraft, Lady	1	1	0
Heath, Rev. Alban ...	1	1	0
Hertz, Very Rev. J. H. ...	2	2	0
Hindley, Miss R. C. ...	2	2	0
Hinke, Prof. W.	1	4	4
Hippisley, Miss E.	1	1	0
Hollis, Miss E.	1	1	0
Hollis, Rev. Dr. F. J. ...	1	1	0
Hooke, Prof. S. H.	1	1	0
Hunter, Miss M. V. ...	1	1	0
Hutton, Rev. W. R. ...	1	1	0
H. W. J.	1	0	0
Hyamson, A. M., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Hyde, Sir Charles	2	2	0
Hyvernat, Prof. H.	2	9	1
Jack, Rev. Dr. J. W. ...	1	1	0
Jackson, Lady	1	1	0
Johnson, Mrs.	3	3	0
Johnson, Rev. Lewis ...	1	1	0
Jones, Rev. Canon R. C. S.	1	1	0
Julian, Mrs. M. B.	1	1	0
Kenyon, Miss K. M. ...	1	1	0
Kenyon, Sir Frederic ...	1	1	0
King, Miss A. J.	0	10	6
Kirkness, W. E., Esq. ...	2	2	0
de Knevett, E., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Laidlay, Mrs. A. E. ...	1	0	0
Lake-Barnett, Mrs. H. ...	2	2	0
La Page, John, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Lee, Rev. E. J.	0	10	6
Lees, G. M., Esq.	2	2	0
Libraries—			
Aberdeen University ...	1	1	0
Allegheny College ...	0	10	6
Alleyns School	1	11	6
Alma College	1	1	0
American Philosophical Society	1	1	0
American Univ. Beirut ...	1	1	0
Amherst College	1	1	0
Amsterdam University ...	1	1	0
Armagh Library	1	1	0
Ashland College	1	1	0
Ashmolean Museum ...	1	1	0
Bangor Theol. Seminary...	2	8	7
Basel University ...	1	1	0
Berkeley Bap. Div. School	1	1	0
Birmingham Public Libraries	1	1	0
Boston Public Library ...	1	1	0
Bradford City Library ...	0	10	6
Bristol Public Libraries ...	2	2	0
British Columbia, Union College of	1	1	0
Carried forward	£182	6	11

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	182	6	11
Brooklyn Inst. of Arts and Sciences	1	1	0
Brown University ...	1	1	0
Bucknell Library ...	1	1	0
Cairo Service des Antiquites	1	1	0
California University ...	0	10	6
Carnegie Library, Pittsburg	0	10	6
Chicago University ...	1	1	0
Church House, Westminster	0	10	6
Colgate-Rochester Divinity School	1	1	0
Colorado College	1	1	0
Congregational Library Boston	1	1	0
Cornell University ...	1	1	0
Davidson College ...	1	1	0
Dominican House of Studies	1	1	0
Doshisha Theol. School ...	1	1	0
Duke University ...	1	1	0
Durham University ...	2	2	0
Eastern Bap. Theol. Seminary	1	1	0
Emmanuel Missionary Coll.	1	0	7
Hague Royal Library ...	2	2	0
Harvard College	1	1	0
Haverford College ...	1	1	0
Hebrew Union College ...	2	8	6
Hull Libraries	0	10	6
Illinois University ...	1	1	0
Institut de France ...			
Jewish Institute of Religion	1	0	7
Jewish Memorial Council	1	1	0
Jewish Theol. Seminary	1	1	0
Jews College	0	10	6
John Rylands Library ...	1	1	0
Leeds Library	1	1	0
London University Lib.	1	1	0
Los Angeles Public Library	1	1	0
Maastricht Theol. College	1	11	6
McMaster University ...	1	1	0
Manchester Coll., Oxford	3	3	0
Manchester University ...	1	1	0
Mansfield College ...	1	1	0
Metropolitan Museum of Art	1	1	0
Montreal Theol. Colleges	2	2	0
Moody Bible Institute ...	1	1	0
Mount Hoylake College ...	1	1	0
Nashota House Library	1	1	0
Newcastle-upon-Tyne Library	2	2	0
New College, London ...	1	1	0
New York Public Library	1	1	0
Newberry Library ...	1	1	0
Newton Theol. Institution	2	0	3
N. Wales, University Coll. of	2	2	0
Northwestern University	1	1	0
Oberlin College	1	1	0
Ottawa Parliament Liby.	1	1	0
Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale	1	1	0
Peabody Institute ...	1	1	0
Carried forward	£246	11	10

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	246	11	10
Royal Asiatic Society ...	1	1	0
St. Andrew's University	1	1	0
St. Augustine's College, Canterbury	1	1	0
St. Deniol's Library ...	1	10	0
St. Edmund's, Ware ...	1	1	0
St. Ignatius House of Studies	1	19	8
St. Louis Public Library	1	1	0
St. Mary's College, Kansas	1	1	0
St. Patrick's, Maynooth	1	1	0
Selly Oak Colleges ...	2	2	0
S.D.A. Theol. Seminary ...	2	2	0
Sorbonne University ...	1	1	0
So. African Public Library	1	1	0
So. Baptist Theol. Seminary	2	2	0
So. Wales University of ...	4	4	0
Spence Library	1	1	0
Strassburg University ...	1	1	0
Sydney Public Library ...	2	2	0
Syrie, Seminaire des Missions de	1	1	0
Texas Christian University	1	1	0
Union Theol. Seminary ...	1	1	0
Victoria (Aust.) Public Library	1	1	0
Walla Walla College ...	3	9	3
Wellesley College ...	1	1	0
Wells College Library ...	2	2	0
Westminster Theol. Seminary	1	1	0
Weston-super-Mare Library	1	1	0
Dr. Williams Library ...	2	2	0
Wisconsin University ...	1	1	0
Yale University	1	1	0
Zion Research Library ...	1	1	0
Llewellen, Mrs.	4	4	0
Lloyd, Rev. C. W. R. ...	1	1	0
Lombe, Mrs.	1	1	0
Lucas, A., Esq.	1	1	0
Luke, Sir Harry	3	3	0
Luzzatto, Mrs. E.	1	1	0
Macalister, Prof. R. A. S. ...	1	1	0
McClellan, Rev. W. H. ...	1	5	4
Macdonogh, Gen. Sir George	1	1	0
McLean, Dr. C. F.	1	1	0
Mathieson, George, Esq. ...	10	0	0
Matthew, H. M., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Mitchell, Mrs. J. Malcolm ...	2	2	0
Money, R. J., Esq.	1	1	0
Monro, Dr. J. D. R. ...	2	2	0
Moore, Rev. John	0	10	6
Morrell, C., Esq.	0	10	6
Morris, Rev. F. J. S. ...	1	1	0
Mortlock, Rev. C. B. ...	1	1	0
Moysey, C. F., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Mozley, Rev. Canon J. K. ...	3	3	0
Murray, Rev. W.	0	10	6
Nathan, Col. Lord	5	5	0
Neve, A. O., Esq.	1	1	0
Newcastle-on-Tyne, The Bishop of	0	10	6
Carried forward	£339	7	1

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	339	7	1
Newcombe, Col. S. F. ...	1	1	0
Noel, Mrs. S.	1	1	0
Norwich, The Dean of ...	1	1	0
Odendaal, Rev. Dr. J. ...	1	1	0
Oesterley, Rev. Dr. W. O.	2	2	0
Owen, Miss L. G.	1	1	0
Parker, Miss A. M.	1	1	0
Parkminister, Rev. Prior of	1	1	0
Parrott, Dr. H. Winnock ...	1	1	0
Patrick, Rev. Alec	2	2	0
Pazmany, Peter, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Penny, T. S., Esq.	1	1	0
Percival, Rev. S. T. ...	2	2	0
Perowne, Stewart, Esq. ...	3	3	0
Pirie-Gordon, H., Esq. ...	2	2	0
Pitcairn, Mrs.	0	10	0
Pope, Rev. Fr. H.	1	1	0
Portsmouth, The Bishop of	2	2	0
Reeder, Rev. Preb. W. ...	0	10	6
Richards, A., Esq.	1	1	0
Richards, Miss K. D. ...	3	3	0
Robertson, Prof. E. ...	1	1	0
Salaman, Dr. R. N. ...	1	1	0
Salisbury, the Bishop of ...	2	2	0
Sanderson, Mrs.	1	1	0
Salmon, F. J., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Schubeler, Mrs.	1	1	0
Scott, Rev. Canon G. D. ...	2	2	0
Scutt, Mrs. F. M.	1	1	0
Shepstone, H. J., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Simons, Dr. J.	1	11	6
Slater, Rev. Preb. E. T. ...	1	1	0
Sloan, Rev. Dr. Andrew ...	1	1	0
Smith, Bishop, M. Linton ...	2	2	0
Smith, Prof. Sidney ...	1	1	0
Smith & Son, Messrs. W. H.	1	0	6
Speakman, E. G., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Squire, Mrs.	0	10	6
Stewart, Brig.-Gen E. M. P.	1	11	6
Stewart, James R., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Stewart, Archdn. W. ...	1	1	0
Stone, Rev. Dr. D.	1	1	0
Taylor, Hon. Mrs. Charles	1	1	0
Taylor, Gilbert J., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Terrill, F., Esq.	1	1	0
Tervit, Adam, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Thomas, Rev. J. Ll. ...	0	10	6
Truro, The Bishop of ...	1	1	0
Tufnell, Miss O.	1	1	0
Tweedie, G. M., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Van Doesburgh, Mr. S. C. ...	1	1	0
Van Nuys, C. C., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Walsh, A. St. G., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Walter, Miss C.	2	2	0
Warde-Aldam, Col. W. St. A.	1	1	0
Watson, Mrs. E. Gordon ...	1	1	0
Watson, Rev. H. W. ...	1	1	0
Wein-Green, J., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Were, Miss	0	5	0
Weston, Rev. F. G. ...	1	1	0
Willis, L., Esq.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£415	3	1

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	415	3	1
Wilson, Mrs. H. C. ...	1	1	0
Wilson, Dr. Stacey	2	2	0
Wilson-Smith, Mrs. ...	0	11	6
Winterbotham, A., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Yule, W. H. D., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Zionist Organisation ...	2	2	0
	£423	1	7

GLASGOW

Hon. Local Sec.
Rev. John Mauchline
Hon. Local Treas.
W. Patrick Mitchell, Esq.

	£	s.	d.
Blair, Archibald, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Buchanan, Rev. J. Robertson	1	1	0
Champion, R. S., Esq. ...	1	1	0
Cuthbert, Alexander, Esq.	1	1	0
Forrester, Rev. Dr. D. ...	1	1	0
Glen, Miss	2	2	0
Hamilton, Rev. W. ...	1	1	0
Houston, Andrew, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Macgregor, Rev. Principal W. M.	1	1	0
Maclay, Lord	1	1	0
Marshall, Miss D. N. ...	1	1	0
Mauchline, Prof. J. ...	1	1	0
Mitchell, Sir George ...	1	1	0
Mitchell Library	1	1	0
Mitchell, W. Patrick, Esq.	1	1	0
Monro, Prof. T. K.	1	1	0
Stevenson, David, Esq. ...	1	1	0
Stevenson, Rev. Prof. W. B.	1	1	0
Trinity College	1	1	0
Weir, Prof. C. J. Mullo ...	1	1	0
	£22	1	0

EDINBURGH

Prof. N. Porteous
Hon. Local Sec.

	£	s.	d.
Bonar, Mrs.	1	1	0
Brown-Douglas, Rev. W. H.	0	10	6
Cameron, Rev. Dr. Duncan	3	3	0
Edinburgh Public Library	1	1	0
Kennedy, Prof. A. C. ...	2	2	3
New College Library ...	2	2	0
Porteous, Prof. N.	1	1	0
Reid, Dr. Walter	1	1	0
Ross, Rev. Wm.	1	1	0
Welch, Rev. Prof. A. C. ...	1	1	0
	£14	3	9

PALESTINE

Dr. E. W. G. Masterman
Hon. Local Sec.

	£	s.	d.
Harding, G. L., Esq. ...	2	2	0
Howie, Mrs.	1	0	0
Hughes, R., Esq.	1	1	0
Hulbert, Miss E.	1	1	0
McInnes, Mrs.	1	1	0
Mansur, Rev. A.	0	10	6
Peake, Col. F. G.	1	1	0
Shaw, H. B. Kennedy, Esq.	1	1	0
Strathearn, Sir John and Lady	2	2	0
	£10	19	6

SUMMARY OF SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS

	£	s.	d.
General List	423	1	7
Edinburgh	14	3	9
Glasgow	22	1	0
Palestine	10	19	6
	470	5	10

PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY

Embodying the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the *Bulletin* of the British School of Archæology in Jerusalem

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JANUARY 1940

SEVENTY-SECOND YEAR

PUBLISHED AT THE OFFICE OF THE FUND

2 HINDE STREET, MANCHESTER SQUARE, LONDON, W.1

THE WILDERNESS OF ZIN

By C. LEONARD WOOLLEY & T. E. LAWRENCE

With a chapter on the Greek Inscriptions by M. N. Tod

Sir Frederic Kenyon in the Introduction states :—

The Wilderness of Zin was first published as the Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund for 1914-15. In view, however, of the subsequent careers of its two authors, and of the literary merit which adds charm to the description of a country of no little biblical and historical interest, it seems to deserve a wider publicity than the proceedings of a learned society.

Crown 4to. with 64 half tone illustrations, 32 Greek Inscriptions, 2 maps and 58 illustrations in the text. 166 pages, 18*s.* net.

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Editors: PAT McCORMICK
ARNOLD ERIC GILLETT

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by

J. W. CROWFOOT & GRACE M. CROWFOOT

With a Note by E. L. SUKENIK

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APRIL 1940

SEVENTY-SECOND YEAR

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With a chapter on the Greek Inscriptions by M. N. Tod

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JULY 1940

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OCTOBER 1940

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